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ISRAEL AND THE GENTILES.

ISRAEL AND THE GENTILES.

CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE JEWS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

BY

DR. ISAAC DA COSTA,

OF AMSTERDAM.

" A travers tant d'états, d'âges de lieux divers,
Avec leur vieille loi parcourant l'univers,
Seuls ils sont demeurés sur sa base profonde,
Comme ces vieux rochers contemporains du monde."

DELILLE.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IT is, I believe, customary for a translator to say a few words in introducing an author whose work is in this manner ushered before the public in a new garb ; and I cannot thus mention Dr. Da Costa, without expressing my wish that the reader of his book may, even in a small degree, participate in the vivid enjoyments which I myself have derived from the gifted writer's own conversation and correspondence.

In the author of " Israel and the Gentiles," it is not only the poet and the man of letters with whom we become acquainted, neither is it human wisdom alone that flows with eloquence from his lips. We recognise in him the devoted Christian, the true servant of his " elder brother according to the flesh," whom he worships as Messiah, his King, and his God. We behold in him one who has left riches and honour, and counted them as

nought so that he might win Christ, and whose life is spent in diffusing around him the light of the knowledge of God.

These sketches, as Dr. Da Costa himself has remarked, are incomplete, especially the latter part, where he could hardly have canvassed the characters of distinguished men who are still alive. With respect to the want of strict chronological arrangement which may be observable in some parts of the work, he wishes to state his conviction, that history ought to follow the connexion of circumstances rather than the precise sequence of time; and he has chosen, therefore, to place facts and opinions in certain groups, in preference to a close adherence to the ordinary more exact method. It is, perhaps, necessary to mention that one or two passages of Scripture have been translated afresh from the original Hebrew, instead of being copied from the authorized version.

MARY J. KENNEDY.

44, *Norfolk Square, Brighton,*
December 10, 1849.

P R E F A C E.

IT may, perhaps, not be quite without interest to my English readers to know that I am, by birth, a descendant of one of those Jewish families who, in the seventeenth century, sought refuge in the Netherlands from the persecutions of Spain and Portugal. From my earliest youth the history of my forefathers has been an object of meditation and study; the modern part, especially, first drew my attention, and both my heart and imagination were captivated by the task of exploring the annals of Israel's dispersion and exile.

I sought eagerly for an answer to the important question, What can be the reason of my people's continuing to be a nation, after having lost all the requisites usually essential to a national existence? Through the merciful

guidance of the God of my fathers, the attempt to solve this question became, in his hand, the means of leading me to the knowledge of His blessed Son, the Lord Jesus. I will not here relate the various circumstances which contributed to prepare my mind to receive conviction and faith ; this instance will suffice for our present purpose.

Amid the atmosphere of incredulity and false religious opinion in which I lived, my researches into the records of my ancestors, and of my nation, brought me, by degrees, to acknowledge the historical truth of the Old and, subsequently, of the New Testament. I was led insensibly, from thought to thought, from induction to induction, till I came to the simple and certain conclusion, that the wonderful and unprecedented circumstance of the existence of the Jewish nation and their varied doctrines, during the space of 3,000 or 4,000 years, could only be accounted for by admitting these three truths :—Their election by God as his people, on account of that Just One who was to be born of the seed of Abraham ; their present misery, because of their rejection of Messiah ; and the divine origin of the prophecies, foretelling their long period of suffering, as well as their

future restoration and conversion. Thus, from mere family interests, was I led, by the providence of God, to trace the history of my people up to the call of Abraham, and to follow it from thence to the coming of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the light of the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel.

More than a quarter of a century has now elapsed since the epoch which decided the fate of my whole life, and yet Israel's history, as written in the book of books, or found in the scattered records of their 1800 years of exile, has never ceased to occupy my thoughts, and to employ a portion of my time. While entering into the details of this wondrous history, I have discovered more and more its perfect harmony with the dispensations of God, and the declarations of His Word; and the Jewish nation has been brought to my view more strikingly as an abiding testimony to the truth of the Christian religion, a living commentary upon the Scriptures, a certain pledge of the entire fulfilment of prophecy.

The sketch of Jewish history presented in these pages, and viewed in the light of Christian truth, may perhaps appear as foolishness, and an offence to my brethren concerning the flesh; but in taking up the book, they will

find, nevertheless, that it still bears the impress of its author's Israelitish origin.

Surely, in confessing myself, by the grace of God, a disciple of Jesus Christ, I did not cease—nay, then I only began, to rejoice that I was indeed a Jew.

And now, let my book speak for itself; in giving it the title of a sketch, I have disavowed every pretension to its being considered a regular history, or even an attempt at one. A universal history of the Jews in modern times, relating their wanderings, and entering into the details of their manners, customs, literature, and biography, on the scale of Basnage, but written in a more correct and interesting manner, with the additional light which time and science have now thrown upon the subject, is still to be desired. What is here brought forward, can only be considered as the contribution of a stone to the building, for we have but attempted a glance, into the chaos of materials, though a glance happily directed, may, perhaps, lead to a discovery valuable to science, or the confirmation of faith.

In my "Lectures on Jewish History," which form the groundwork of this sketch, I have endeavoured to notice especially the relations

of my people with all the nations of the world, from the earliest days of their existence to the present time ; to remark upon what the Gentiles are for the Jews, either as means of instruction or of chastisement, and what Israel has been, and still is, for the Gentiles, either as witnesses to the truth, and victims of their own unbelief, or as the people kept apart, to impart light and salvation to the Gentiles.

The subject will be divided into four parts. The First Book will give a glance over the principal features of the Jewish history, both in Palestine and beyond its borders, before the destruction of Jerusalem, with a short account of the subsequent fate of that city.

The Second Book gives a view of the Jewish people in their double captivity of the East and West, from the fall of their temple and country, to the close of the Middle Ages.

The Third Book will contain a history of the Jewish exiles in Spain and Portugal. If this part appear to be more elaborately worked out than the rest, it is not only on account of the numerous sources of information to which the author's birth and parentage gave him access ; but also because a multitude of facts, not generally known, form character-

istic features in the records of this portion of Israel's exiles.

The Fourth Book views the position of the Jews, in their connexion with the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the revolution of the eighteenth, and the great social and political movements of the present day; with the glorious advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of the Jews, and the establishment of his kingdom.

May the Lord bless the reading of these pages to all who take them in hand, whether Jew or Christian, Israelite or Gentile! Amen.

INTRODUCTION.

FROM a very early period of the world's history, we find a people living amidst the nations, and conversing with them in close connexion, yet kept completely apart, and preserved unmixed, by means of characteristics exclusively their own.

This people is the only nation that can, with certainty, trace its origin, through one family, to a single individual. They call themselves the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. A doubt has never been raised as to the reality of this origin, so strongly has it been established by the records of tradition and history. Yet, although no nation disputes with them this honour, no one envies them its possession, so entirely has the hatred of all degraded a title of the highest honour into a sign of reproach, contempt, and exclusion.

As children of Abraham, guardians and confessors of the law of Moses and the predictions of the prophets, they bear by a personal mark the testimony of their genealogy, in the ordinance of circumcision. As disciples of Moses, they have now for thirty-four centuries raised the cry, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God ;" and every Sabbath-day, even to the present time, Moses and the prophets are read in their synagogues, in the same order as when the Apostle St. James mentions the fact 1800 years ago, as already, in his time, an ancient custom.

They are an Eastern nation, and after hundreds and thousands of years, though naturalized in the west, they still bear the features of an Oriental extraction. Their strongly-marked countenance exhibits, on the one hand, their relationship with the Arabs of the desert, the children of Abraham by Ishmael ; and bears, on the other, in its deeply-stamped impress of suffering, a memorial of the cruelty and oppression of a long succession of ages.

They have ever been a people of *sojourners* ; their first father sojourned in the country promised to his posterity, and when themselves settled in Canaan, their religion still led them to preserve the feeling that they were but

"sojourners in the land." Long before the fall of Jerusalem, and their entire dispersion, numbers of them already sojourned in Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia; thus we read of Daniel and Nehemiah, at the Courts of those nations; and in later times, we find Israelites established in Egypt and Macedonia, and enrolled as Roman citizens, both in the great city itself, and in the provinces. Since the final destruction of Jerusalem, they have become acclimatized to every region, and while scattered among every diversity of nation, have assumed something of the character of the people among whom they dwelt. Nevertheless, a principle of *unity* has prevailed throughout the whole dispersion of Israel, and they have remained in every climate, and among every nation, representatives of what all mankind really are—descendants of one family and one father.

Two powerful religions derive, though in a very different manner, their origin from the existence of this people. Both in the Gospel of truth, and the imposture of the Koran, the fathers of Israel are recognised as the fathers of their respective faith. In both these creeds the prophets of Israel are honoured as men of

God, and the City of Jerusalem as a holy city. But neither from this high antiquity, nor from the possession of a history full of touching and sublime incidents, and still shadowing forth the distant future, has any benefit accrued to the Israelite, either in the East or West. The names even which God gave to his ancient people, as honourable memorials, the nations, both Mahometans and professing Christians, have turned into a by-word, so that *Israelite* has become a term of reproach, and *Jew* (son of Judah) a contemptuous epithet.

What a theme for anxious contemplation to the whole world, is the people whose history spreads over 4000 out of the whole 6000 years that contain the records of the human race ! while even the modern part of it can be traced back during a period of 1800 years !

Were there now in existence even a single individual who could with certainty trace his pedigree from one of the ancient Greek or Roman families, with what care and interest would such a circumstance be investigated, as a living remnant of antiquity ! And yet Israel, the *very Israel* whose annals extend to the most remote periods of sacred and profane history, still remains. not as a remnant only, con-

sisting of a few solitary individuals or families, but the whole body of the people still exists, scattered over every part of our globe.

To the Christian especially, how deeply interesting a subject for meditation and study! In this people he beholds involuntary witnesses to the truth of all that God has spoken to man, from the beginning, and through successive ages, concerning his Anointed. He sees in this people the very flesh and blood from which Jesus Christ himself, as the Son of man, became incarnate. He sees a living proof of the truth of prophecies fulfilled, and of those yet unaccomplished, as well as a visible monument of the historic realities upon which the Christian faith is based.

The marked distinction of the Jewish people from every other nation, is a result of the separation ordained and established by God himself between them and all the other families of the earth, who were, nevertheless, to be blessed in their seed. Their religious worship, their customs, their feasts, and their fasts, are all abiding monuments of the authenticity of the Old Testament.

Their constant expectation of the Messiah, is an effect of the reality of the promise given, and oftentimes repeated, to their fathers, woven, as it

were, into the very tissue of that Scripture which was gradually enrolled during the whole national existence of the people of Israel. Their final dispersion, and prolonged misery, during the eighteen centuries in which they have existed, without King, without temple, without sacrifice, without country,—but also without teraphim, and without idols, shows the Divine origin of their own fulfilled prophecies respecting Him whom they have waited for, and yet rejected,—whom they have pierced, and whom they will one day adore.

Still continuing a people, though deprived of all the usual essentials of a national existence, they have survived the most powerful nations and dynasties of the world, while sunk to the lowest depth of humiliation under the very feet of the Gentiles. The Infidel even must acknowledge, that in this there is something strange, startling, wonderful! but the Christian recognises with a feeling of reverence, in the imperishable endurance of this despised and often despicable people, the finger of that God by whose word alone they have been preserved, though, according to the principles of human reason, and all the known laws and processes of nature, they must infallibly have perished. In meditating on this

subject, the Christian is led back to a contemplation of other harmonies subsisting in God's varied dealings with his people in former ages. How perfect, for instance, is the coincidence of the seed given to Abraham, not according to the course of nature, but in fulfilment of the Divine promise, and the birth of a Saviour, fulfilling to the very letter the word spoken by the prophet, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive!"

As the Israelites are the only people able to trace their origin from a single family, and a single patriarch, and thus follow up their descent from the father of mankind; so, on the other hand, are they the only people who have preserved, through a succession of centuries, a definite expectation of their future destiny, to which they have clung through every period of their long dispersion. This expectation rests upon the same prophetic Scriptures which foretold and described their present state of exile and suffering, which also announced the painful death and future glory of the Messiah, and with that glory connects the blessings of a spiritual and national restoration for Israel, light over the whole world, and peace upon all nations united with the ancient people of God, beneath the sceptre of the Son of David and the Son of God. The

Gospel confirms the prophecies and seals afresh these promises. The Apostle St. Paul, in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, beautifully concentrates, as in a focus, the prophetic rays of the Old Testament, when he says, "If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? The fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and so all Israel shall be saved." In these few words a key is given by which the future destiny of the nations is laid open to us, while the prophecies of the Old and New Testament combine to form a complete commentary upon these words, which are, in fact, the centre of the whole future history of Israel and the Gentiles. Surely, when we rightly regard the annals of this people, reaching backward to the most remote antiquity, and looking forward to a futurity which has been long predicted, with its course lighted up by the gradual fulfilment of prophecy, we should not overlook the details of its darkest and saddest periods. It is, without doubt, a history of sorrows, and of almost unprecedented misery; for it tells of a people of sorrows on account of their sins. But should not this very peculiarity give it fresh interest in the eyes of the

Christian, who rests his salvation, his hope, his *all*, upon a *Man of sorrows* also, but of sorrow without sin?

In our days especially, the most striking circumstances and the most startling signs of the times concur to increase, in a remarkable degree, feelings of interest in the Jewish people. The times in which we live are such, that no one can deny their portent of a future, to which each day seems ready to give birth. A great inquiry agitates the minds and stirs the hearts of many as to what will be the final issue of all the revolutionary movements and complications which are now taking place, while, at the same time, the opposite principles of faith and Infidelity, superstition and science, combine to multiply daily changes in our moral and social life. The Christian alone knows the result to which all this tends, while, in singleness of heart, he examines and ponders the prophetic words of his Lord and Saviour,—that he shall come on the clouds of heaven, and then shall be fulfilled all that the prophets and holy men of the Old Testament have spoken concerning the Messiah of Israel, the Desire of all nations. He shall reign as King over the house of Jacob; the Lord God shall give him the throne of his father David.

He shall reign from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. Under his sceptre shall the twelve tribes of Israel be again united; all the nations of the earth shall share in their peace and glory, and bow together in submission to that sceptre of justice, truth, and love. The whole earth shall be covered with the knowledge of God, and the light of his glory; the wicked, and all the powers of wickedness, shall be destroyed, and the prince of this world cast out. Jerusalem shall rise, covered with glory, from her state of humiliation, as the dead who have believed in Christ come forth from their graves. The last book of the Bible sums up all these blessings in its closing words: “I Jesus am the root and offspring of David, and the bright and morning star. *Behold, I come quickly.*”

Never, till our days, has the attention of men been so forcibly drawn to the Scripture prophecies of the Old and New Testament, nor the hearts of Christians so prepared to look for their accomplishment. This diligent search, this waking up of attention, forms the characteristic of a new era in the Christian Church, and the period from which we may date its commencement, is the latter part of the eighteenth century, at precisely the same period

when the epoch of revolutions began in the history of the world. This coincidence is the more worthy of remark, because at the moment when Infidelity is shaking the very foundation of the Papacy, and under the guise of philosophy and rationalism, threatening to undermine and endanger the Protestant Churches,—behold at once a fresh banner raised, and a new rallying point marked out, to direct the faith, the zeal, and the exertions of the Christian. On all sides, voices are heard, calling to a deeper and more careful investigation of the Revelation of St. John, and to more literal and faithful interpretations of the prophecies of Israel, which promise not only individual conversion and future bliss, but also the visible glory of Christ, and his reign upon earth, over Israel and all the nations. All this has naturally led to a deeper interest in the history and the fate of Israel; and this interest is a more remarkable sign of the times, because it coincides with the striving of spirit which is now taking place among the ancient people themselves. All the changes that have occurred in Europe, since the latter part of the eighteenth century, and those which are even now happening, combine to alter the whole social and political posi-

tion of the Jewish people, and to form a new era in the annals of Israel's exile. The Talmud, which like a massive wall defended the Jew from every Christian influence, is now tottering and giving way in many places. In the midst of Israel, voices are heard asking for a modified and more popular form of worship, in imitation of the Christian nations among whom they dwell. Hence has arisen in some of the people, an almost total negligence of the memorials and traditions of their fathers; while to others, an increasing opportunity is afforded for the study and reception of the Gospel. For several years past, the number of Jewish converts to the Christian faith, from all classes, has been great; still greater has been the increase of closer ties than the mere commercial relation formerly subsisting between the Jew and the people of the country in which he lived.

Among the Jews themselves, fresh vigour displays itself in every department of the arts and sciences; in Germany, the sons of Israel are distinguished professors of philosophy, letters, astronomy, and jurisprudence. Like their forefathers, before the catastrophe which put an end to their political existence, the descendants of Abraham for the last half-

century have again borne arms with honour. The poetic harp of Israel sounds for the first time to European accents, and Israelitish names are found among the greatest masters of music in our day. In almost every part of Europe, Israelites afford to the country of their sojourn the benefit, not of riches only, but of talent, genius, and learning. In Germany, they are obtaining a release from every legal restraint, and in England, from whence they were in the thirteenth century ignominiously expelled, they have received an all but complete emancipation. All this yet forms no part of Israel's restoration, but may not the Christian view these facts as already a "shaking of the bones"? (Ezek. xxxvii.)

The Romish Church has always thought of the Jewish people as a great multitude, destined in the latter days to be gathered into the bosom of the mother Church of the Gentiles. Protestantism long looked coldly and with indifference upon the future hopes and promised conversion of God's ancient people. It remained for the revival of Gospel truth in our days to encourage a deeper search into unfulfilled prophecy, and thus bring Israel more clearly to view, as the people long dispersed, but destined to be again gathered, and

considering the Israelites in their relations with Egypt, and afterwards with the different nations and tribes of Asia, with whom they were brought in contact, either as neighbours and enemies, or by the bonds of alliance and relationship with Midian, Edom, Moab, Ammon, the Philistines, the Syrians, the Assyrians, and under the four great monarchies of Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome. After viewing the Israelites in connexion with the Gospel, in the fulness of time, we shall follow them into their dispersion and captivity in the East and West; in the Roman empire, in Europe, and Asia; in connexion with the Parthians and the Persians, the Ostrogoths, and the Visigoths; with Arabia, and the rise of Mahometanism, the Franks, the Germans, the Normans, the English, the Poles, and the Sclavonian nations in general. We shall particularly notice their relations with Spain and Portugal, and afterwards with the Low Countries, Great Britain, France, Italy, and America; and view them, lastly, in respect to their position at the present time, and their own future expectations.

We shall contemplate Israel in this picture as the people of the greatest privileges, and the darkest transgressions; the deepest tribu-

lation, and the brightest hopes: but the object most prominently brought forward will be *the alternate power of the principles of attraction and repulsion*, shown forth in its effects upon every relation of Israel with the nations of the world. There has long been a gulf fixed between the two, but, reconciled and united by the cross of Christ, they will one day enjoy together their respective privileges, *united for ever, yet never confounded*.

BOOK I.

THE ISRAELITES IN EGYPT.

A VERY interesting period in the history of the Israelites first brings them into contact with the Egyptians, for in the country of the latter, the family became a people, and changed their wandering and pastoral life for the labours of agriculture. Jacob came into Egypt with seventy persons, under one Pharaoh, and six hundred thousand children of Israel left the country, some centuries after, in the reign of another. Before their entrance, the Israelites had given to Egypt a Joseph, who by his wisdom had preserved both the king and country; in return, Egypt, and Pharaoh's house, gave them a Moses. But Moses, in the palace of Pharaoh, was not alone brought up in "all the wisdom" of one of the most celebrated nations in the world—the whole people of Israel shared in this education. If we look only upon the oppression and bondage which marked the later days of the sojourn of the

Israelites in Egypt, we receive a very incomplete idea of the whole period; this slavery and oppression was but a consequence of the rapid increase and great prosperity of the children of Israel. In 1 Chron. iv. 18, a glimpse is afforded us of the earlier and happier days of their abode on the banks of the Nile.

Nothing can be more simple and natural than the conclusion, that to highly civilized Egypt, the children of Israel (under the powerful guidance of the God of their fathers) were indebted for all the advantages of civilization; and especially for the use of the alphabet, an indispensable requisite for the reception of their future legislature, and the preservation of Divine revelation. We may notice another very important point, in observing the close connexion of the children of Israel, while becoming a people, with the country of Mitzraim. It is, if we may so express it, the Egyptian peculiarity of Moses, their legislator and leader, and the Egyptian character that pervades the whole Pentateuch. Moses himself was, in some sense, an Egyptian; not only was he called so by Jethro's daughters, whom he delivered from the hands of the shepherds, but the Egyptian character was very

strongly and decidedly stamped upon his person and upon all his actions. Brought up in the house of Pharaoh's daughter, and at the court of the king, trained in all the wisdom which at that time distinguished the Egyptians from every other nation, the influence of this education clung to him through life, and entered into his Divine calling.

God often prepares his chosen instruments by human means for their ultimate destination in his service. Thus was St. Paul made ready by Pharisaical Judaism for the labour which fell to his share after his conversion to Christianity; and thus, in a yet more wonderful manner, was the education Moses received in an idolatrous country overruled to prepare him for a high calling in the service of the living God. A most highly civilized nation, deeply versed in law and political wisdom, arts, sciences, and mechanics, was appointed to train *him* who should become, under the power and guidance of God, their ruler, king, guide, architect, historian, and poet.

The statute laws of Israel recognise the relation subsisting between the Egyptians and the people of God, in a remarkable passage, in which, while the nations who had ill-treated or were likely to injure the Israelites, were

excluded from communion with God, an exception is made in favour of the Edomite, "for he is thy brother," and the Egyptian, "because thou wast a stranger in his land." (Deut. xxiii. 7.)

During the whole succeeding history we may observe a balance preserved in the relationship between Israel and Egypt. No return to Egypt was permitted, yet no enmity might be shown to the Egyptians. The wife of that king in whose reign the kingdom of Israel reached the height of its prosperity was a daughter of Pharaoh. In later times, under the successors of Solomon, it was equally dangerous for Judah to have the Egyptians as allies or enemies. Josiah fell in battle against Pharaoh-Necho, whom he had provoked to the war; and, on the other hand, little help was gained by his successors in their alliance with Egypt against Babylon. When Jerusalem had been taken, the temple destroyed, and the inhabitants carried captive to Babylon, the measure of Jeremiah's affliction was filled up by the sinful remnant, who returned to their ancient house of bondage and compelled the prophet to accompany them thither.

In the Old Testament prophecies we find, in connexion with the complete restoration of

Israel, promises of blessing for Egypt, from whence 3300 years since the Lord brought forth his people, and "out of which" also 1800 years ago "He hath called his Son." "In that day," saith the Prophet Isaiah (of a time to which no past epoch can refer)—"in that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord.' And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a Saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it. And the Lord shall smite Egypt; he shall smite and heal it, and they shall return even to the Lord, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them. In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrians shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land. Whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless,

saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of mine hands, and Israel mine inheritance." (Isa. xix. 19—25.)

With a strong hand, and a stretched-out arm, God led his people out of Egypt. Soon after their departure thence, the Israelites received the pledge of their existence as a people in the Divine Law given from Mount Sinai; they then began their forty years' wanderings in the wilderness. How striking must have been the appearance of the twelve tribes of Israel, encamped in the desert, each around its own banner, their four sides facing the four quarters of the world, whose salvation and glory were represented by the tabernacle, with its holy vessels and symbolic services! Yet the people were destined to undergo many chastenings at the hand of God; as the vine branch is purged that it may bring forth more fruit, so were the murmurers cut off from the midst of Israel, till a fresh generation arose, to whom the promises were fulfilled.

Moses witnessed the first victory of the children of Israel beyond the Jordan, when Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, took possession of the land of Basan and of the Amorites. The passage of the river, so striking an event in the history of Israel, was

reserved for Joshua. With him began the Heroic age, which comprehended four hundred and fifty years, including David, and his contemporaries in age and war.

The relations between Israel and the surrounding nations in the times of Moses, Joshua, the judges, and the kings, were appointed by God himself, and made a part of the laws and constitution of the state. The land promised to their fathers was given to the Israelites on the condition of their keeping it and themselves free from idolatry, and thus continuing the people of the only living and true God. From the beginning they neglected this charge; they spared the nations God had sent them to punish, and even joined with them in serving their gods. Thus were Canaanites left in the midst of Israel, who became, in the hand of God, a pricking brier and a rod of chastisement for his unfaithful and disobedient people. Jerusalem remained in possession of the Jebusites till the time of David, who, with his valiant men, took the fortress of Zion, and established there the royal residence and the abode of the Ark of God.

Even the evil of a permanent remnant of the nations of Canaan existing in the land, after its conquest by Israel, was turned to

good by the hand of God, and made use of for their benefit, "that the generations of the children of Israel might know, to teach them war, at the least such as knew nothing thereof before." (Judges iii. 2.) The Israelites were destined from the first to become a warlike people; this character is implied in the whole Mosaic code, and it continued to belong to the Jewish people until their complete downfall, at the final destruction of their city and temple. This character disappeared for many centuries, when Israel became a homeless wanderer over the face of the globe.

The peaceful reign of Solomon brings us both to the height of Israel's prosperity and grandeur, and to the commencement of its decline. The evil influence of strangers and idolatrous nations, which the ever-drawn sword of the man after God's own heart had kept for a time at bay, *then* began its work of destruction. By imitating these nations in many ways, and especially in their varied idolatries, the children of Jacob drew down upon themselves all those misfortunes and judgments, which the wrath of God inflicted for their punishment. Their princes set the example of dangerous and unhallowed connexions,

which led to the introduction of foreign customs and the most horrible practices.

In those days the children of Israel were, both in word and deed, just the reverse of what they became in later times; viz., the witnesses and preachers of the only true God, in the midst of, and in opposition to, all the false religions of the world. This position they assumed after the Babylonian captivity, and this truly Israelitish calling was shown forth later in all its fulness, at the preaching of the Cross. We look to see it once more shine forth in times of prophecy yet unfulfilled.

However wide the separation formerly established between the Israelites and the other nations, the Psalms and Prophecies ever look forward to the union of these two great divisions of the descendants of Adam under a single sceptre. The address which is contained in the few words of the 117th Psalm is the theme of numerous songs of praise, and predictions of future glory:—"O praise the Lord, all ye nations, praise him, all ye people. For his merciful kindness is great towards us, and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Praise ye the Lord." For centuries the Israelites were led by God to expect a future conversion

of the Gentiles; and in a similar manner, under the present New Testament dispensation, believers in Christ among the Gentiles look forward to the complete and national conversion of Israel. The prophecies contain as many predictions which refer to the Gentiles, as to the Israelites themselves,*—not to that day *alone* still to come which shall behold them ranged under the banner of the Son of Jesse,—they also tell of God's varied dealings with them, and his judgments upon them, at times and in circumstances long preceding it, and thus exemplify what the Apostle St. Paul says: “Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not of the Gentiles also? Yes, of the Gentiles also.” (Rom. iii. 29.)

We have now taken a general view of the relations between the Israelites and the Asiatic nations around them, before the first destruction of Jerusalem; the more particular relation subsisting between them, and *some* of these nations, is interesting for many reasons. We will notice, first, the relative position of the Israelites and Edomites, the descendants of Jacob and Esau, whose history, as it were, began in the womb of their mother, Rebecca, where already

* Isa. xv., xviii., xix., xxiii.; Jer. xlvi., xlvii., xlviii., xlix., l.; Ezek. xxv., xxvii., xxix., xxxi.; Dan. ii., vii.

the fathers of the two nations struggled together; and it was said to the mother, the “*Great* shall serve the *Little*.” (Esau) *the Great*, by priority of birth, by physical force, and by rapidly becoming a powerful and warlike nation, was compelled to give place to (Jacob) *the Little*, because of the promise of that seed, in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed. In later times, the brother nation rivalled Edom in the number of its people, and the extent of its conquests. In those days, however, no war was allowed between two nations so closely allied by blood. Thus the people of God were forbidden by Moses to make an attack upon the Edomites, though, on their approach to the promised land, the latter had refused to the people of Jacob a passage through their country, and water to drink, for money. Afterwards, in accordance with Balaam’s prophecy, the country of the Edomites became, especially in David’s time, an hereditary possession of the children of Israel. Under David’s successors, Edom soon rebelled; more than once reconquered, it was first in alliance, and afterwards at enmity, with Judah. God threatened Edom with great judgments, because in the day of the ruin of the children of Judah (their brethren) “they

rejoiced and did shoot out the lip in the day of their distress." Obadiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel prophesied to this effect, in the later times, as had done before, Isaiah, Joel, and Amos, and as did Malachi, after the return from Babylon.

The discoveries lately made in Idumea, and its capital Petra, verify the descriptions given by the prophets of its former magnificence; while they testify, at the same time, to the literal fulfilment of all the judgments pronounced against it. We cannot but be struck by the comment which the gigantic architectural remains of Edom now make upon those prophecies, of which one of the most remarkable was uttered by Jeremiah:—"Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, Oh thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hills; though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord." (Jer. xlix. 16.)

In the latter days of Judah's existence as a nation, we may observe a very different connexion subsisting between the Jews and the Edomites. Under the Maccabees the descendants of the *Great* (Esau), were still subjected to those of the *Little* (Jacob). But, at last,

Edom in his turn subjected his younger brother; and the decline of the Asmonean dynasty prepared the way for the glory, and finally the dominion, of Antipater the Edomite, and his son, Herod the Great. When the Son of David was born in the stable of Bethlehem, the persecuting Edomite was king at Jerusalem, and thus was fulfilled the very length and breadth of the prophecy spoken in the house of the Patriarch, "the Great shall serve the Little." The Star of Jacob, the King of Israel, in the humility of his human nature, was then made manifest as that *Little* one, to which all that is *Great* in this world must one day be subjected and pay homage.

The people of Israel were allied in a degree with Moab and Ammon, the descendants of Lot, Abraham's nephew. On their entrance into Canaan, the inheritance of these nations was spared by the command of God; yet the Moabites were greatly terrified at the approach of the children of Israel, and Balak their king hired a false prophet to curse the people, and sent the daughters of his land to seduce them to sin. (Numb. xxii., xxv.) The curse intended by Balaam, was changed by the power of God, who holds in his hand the very thoughts of evil men, into a prophecy of blessing and glory. Thus the dawn of the glorious

Star of Jacob was announced against his own will, by the mouth of a heathen, as well as the future humiliation of Moab, and the increasing prosperity of Israel. The Ammonites and Moabites, on account of their disgraceful origin, were not admitted into the congregation of the Lord till the tenth generation. Nevertheless, there is in Christ reconciliation between Moab and Israel, and it was carried into effect many centuries before the birth of our Saviour. In the time of the Judges, a daughter of Moab, having faith in the God of Israel, acted with kindness and fidelity to a widow of Judah, and, by her means, the genealogy of the king of Israel still transmits on its records the name of a Moabitess. In the same genealogy, we find the name of another daughter of Canaan, Rahab, of Jericho, who, at the glorious victory of the children of Israel, was made the first-fruits of the Gentiles who should be blessed in the seed of Abraham, and by her subsequent marriage to Salmon, of the tribe of Judah, she also became an ancestress of the incarnate Messiah, the Son of David. (Matt. i. 5.)

Among the nations of Canaan, the Phœnicians have afforded most matter of interest to universal history. We also find them, for many

succeeding centuries, in close alliance with the people of Israel. The language of the Phœnicians, notwithstanding their descent from another son of Noah, (the Israelites from Shem, the Phœnicians from Ham), was nearly allied to that of the Israelites, and the art of writing came to that people either through the Egyptians, or at once from the Phœnicians, its inventors. With Tyre and Sidon, the chief cities of this celebrated commercial nation, the Israelites, after their settlement in Canaan, were either at open war, or engaged in commercial relations. The Sidonians were early mentioned as enemies and persecutors, from whom the Lord delivered his people, after he had chastened them by their means. (Judg. x. 1—12.)

The kings of Tyre supplied David with cedar wood; and workmen to build his house, and also assisted Solomon in building the temple. But these commercial connections with the Phœnician cities communicated also idolatry and immorality, and were the means of bringing the iniquities of the Sidonian Jezebel and Athaliah upon the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

The high exaltation and deep debasement of Tyre were both spoken of by the prophets

of Israel. Of ancient Tyre, taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and modern Tyre, humbled by Alexander the Great, there remains scarcely a ruin. It is become literally "a place to spread nets on," as foretold by Ezekiel. But, for the inhabitants of Tyre, as well as for the Phœnicians in general, better things have been foretold by men of God in Israel. The Psalmist says, "I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon, as them that know me; behold Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia." (Psalm lxxxvii. 4.) As in the days of Elijah a widow of Sarepta, a city of Sidon, found grace in the sight of the God of Israel, so in the time of our Saviour a Syro-Phœnician, or Canaanitish, woman, also sought and found it at the feet of Jesus. (St. Mark vii. 26.) When the Gospel was preached, the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon gladly received what was first offered to the Jews, and soon after we find recorded the brotherly love and consolation received by the Apostle of the Gentiles, from the Christian communities of Tyre, Sidon, and Ptolemais. (Acts xxi. 2—7, xxvii. 3.) Thus, the Gospel brought not Japhet alone, but also Canaan, into the tents of Shem.

The connexion between the Israelites and the Syrians is an abiding feature in the history

of the former people. Syria, situated between Palestine and Mesopotamia, bore at first, in common with the latter, the name of *Aram*. It was in remembrance of this part of Syria; (Padan Aram, between the Euphrates and Tigris), that the Israelite, each year, at the feast of first-fruits, confessed before God that he was the son of a “Syrian, ready to perish.” (Deut. xxvi. 5.) With Aram, more properly speaking, that is to say, Syria beyond the Euphrates, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah were in turns bound by treaties of alliance, or at open war. Macedonian Syria subsequently subdued the Jewish people, and continued to persecute and oppress them, until the heroic Maccabees restored their country to liberty.

The children of Abraham were also closely united to Damascus, the celebrated city of Cælo-Syria. Abraham probably dwelt there for some time; there, at least, was born his faithful servant, called in Scripture, Eliezer, of Damascus. Although, in the time of the first temple, idolatry and enmity against the Jewish people existed at Damascus, when the Gospel was preached, we find that a Jewish synagogue had long been established there, and from it arose a small body of Christians. While Saul of Tarsus was hastening to destroy

this way, it was before the gates of Damascus that he was converted to the faith he had persecuted, and within its walls he first preached the Gospel.

In quite a different manner from any we have yet considered, were the Israelites connected with the two most ancient Asiatic monarchies. The Assyrians and Babylonians were in God's hand a rod of chastisement for his people. What the kingdom of the ten tribes suffered from the Assyrians, was inflicted in later times by the Babylonians upon the people of Judah. Both these kingdoms received their punishment from God, by the hand of the same nations with whose idols they had so long defiled themselves, and provoked the Lord to anger. Shalmanezer, king of the Assyrians, carried captive great part of the ten tribes into his own country, and Sennacherib, his successor, had prepared a similar fate for Judah ; but he was utterly overthrown before Jerusalem, because Hezekiah and Isaiah had made supplication unto Him that dwelleth between the cherubim. Two centuries after, Babylon carried into effect what Assyria had threatened. The city of Jerusalem was taken, the Temple destroyed, and the greater part of the people carried captive to Babylon. This

event begins a new era in the history of the Jews.

The ancient division of the people of Israel into *the ten* and *the two tribes* (Ephraim and Judah), which no doubt had its origin in an earlier part of the history, before their separation under Rehoboam and Jeroboam, has subsisted from the conquests of Assyria and Babylon to the present time. Their reunion, as one people, containing the twelve tribes, under one shepherd—Messiah, the Son of David, is a divine blessing foretold by the prophets, which cannot be said to be in any way realized by the partial return of the people of Judah from Babylon.

We may, however, look upon these facts as well ascertained; first, that some of the ten tribes returned to their own country, and settled there again after the time of Shalmanezer, and that parts of Galilee also were inhabited by their descendants. It is, however, equally testified by prophecy, history, and tradition, that a body of Israelites of the ten tribes have been perpetuated on some part of the surface of our globe; thus, in our days, there is a dispersion both of Judah and Ephraim drawing near the time of their reunion and re-establishment as a nation.

Though the rationalism of our days has led some of the Jews even to doubt this separate existence of the ten tribes, yet against a single line of the Talmud to that effect is arrayed the whole testimony of Josephus, and the enduring tradition constantly handed down among themselves. This tradition, founded upon the prophecy of Ezekiel (xxxvii.), which foretels the reunion of the twelve tribes, even fixes the abode of these Israelites in some isolated spot, in a remote part of Asia, beyond the imaginary river Sabbathion.

The Portuguese Jewish Rabbi, Menasseh ben Israel, in his "Hope of Israel," written in 1650, was of the same opinion as the celebrated Spanish traveller, Antonio de Montesino (also a Jew), that a part of the ten tribes was to be met with among the Indians of North America. In our days, the well-known missionary and preacher, Joseph Wolff, thinks he has met with this remnant among the handsome and warlike tribes of Affghanistan and Great Bucharia. No researches, however, have had more successful results than those of the American missionary, Dr. Grant, in his travels in the year 1834. According to his observations, the Nestorians, inhabiting the inaccessible mountains of Kurdistan (the

ancient Assyria), are, in their religion, the same as the Nestorian Christians mentioned in the history of the Church, but by descent no other than Israelites of the ten tribes carried into Assyria 720 years before the birth of Christ. Their customs, their ceremonies, their countenances, and their names, at once show that these Nestorian mountaineers belong to the Israelitish family, while the country, by its identity with the Assyria of the Bible, gives presumptive evidence of their being the colony formed by Shalmanezer.

The captivity of the two tribes at Babylon forms a remarkable epoch, productive of striking consequences in the history of the people. For this reason, the genealogy of Christ, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, is interrupted by the notice of this event. (Matt. i. 11, 12.) From that time, a sensible and decided change took place, both in the moral and political position of the Jewish people. Idolatry, the besetting sin of past generations, had perished; and their outward character was, in many respects, improved.

It was in Babylon that the peculiar relation first subsisted between the Jews and the people of the land of their exile, which has continued unchanged through the whole of their dis-

persion, enabling them to accommodate themselves to a residence among strangers, and adopt their names and habits without ceasing to be Jews. The nobles of Judah became, by degrees, reconciled to their residence in the Royal City of Babylon. The Chaldee of their captivity mingled itself with their patriarchal Hebrew, and this memorial of their long and interesting abode in the country remains in their Liturgies to the present day. In the Prophet Daniel, there is a mixture of the Chaldee element, both in his historico-prophetic writings, and in the varied course of his whole life. He, as well as three other young men of princely birth in Judea, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, were reckoned among the rulers and sages of the King of Babylon. They all four bore, besides their Jewish name, a Babylonian surname. So in the same manner we find afterwards Jews bearing the Greek names of Philip and Alexander, and the Roman names of Mark, Paul, and Flavius ; and subsequently, in Spain and Portugal, joining their Oriental appellation to the surname of a Spanish or Portuguese family. Daniel, called at Babylon Belteshazzar, gave glory to the God of Israel, by confessing him to be the only and true God, in the midst of

the idolatrous city, and before all his enemies. By turns persecuted and raised to the highest honours, he was more than once Prime Minister of the State, and at the same time the chosen prophet of God. His prophecies, written while he held so striking a position with regard to the Israelites and the Gentiles, bear that original and universally historical character which distinguishes, in particular, the visions of the four great monarchies (chapters ii. and viii.), and can only be compared to its strongly-marked parallel in the New Testament, the Revelation of St. John.

Jewish tradition informs us, that it was, with few exceptions, the less noble families who took advantage of the edict of Cyrus, and listened to the voice of Zerubbabel. Accordingly, we find that the Jewish population, who continued at Babylon, soon became numerous, flourishing, and of some importance in the country. Colonies from Babylon, if we may believe the traditions of the Spaniards and Jews, settled upon the shores of Hesperia, and founded there cities, of whose names the Hebrew origin may still be traced, as Toledo, Escalonia, Maqueda, &c. It is certain, that in later times the celebrated Rabbinical schools of Spain descended from, and became the

successors of, those at Babylon. After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, the patriarch, or prince of the captivity at Babylon, was considered of higher rank, and held in more esteem by the dispersed people, than he who held the same office in Palestine; and finally, the Talmud which is called Babylonian is both more considerable, and in higher repute among the Jewish theologians, than the Talmud of Jerusalem.

At all times, the Jews have met with more favour from kings than from their subjects. On their side they have, during the whole of their captivity, shown themselves faithful to the ruling power, and generally prepossessed in favour of a monarchical form of Government.

Cyrus appears at the head of the great kings and conquerors who have shown peculiar favour to the Jewish people. He was spoken of by name, and commended by the prophet, as the chosen instrument of their deliverance from the Babylonian captivity. (Isa. xlvi. 1; Esd. i.) A Persian tradition even says, that he was the son of a Jewess. Under his auspices, the temple of Jerusalem was rebuilt by Zerubbabel (called at Babylon Shesbazzar), the son of Salathiel, of the Royal family of

David. The great amount of the Jewish population in the Persian dominions, and the power they possessed, is clearly shown in the Book of Esther, when, by the peculiar custom of the Medes and Persians, the King, being unable to revoke the decree he had once made, sent letters, “and granted to the Jews which were in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, all the power of the people and provinces that would assault them, both little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey.” (Esther viii. 2.) Mordecai soon after became Prime Minister of the same King, Ahasuerus (probably the Xerxes of Grecian history), as Daniel had been before him, at Babylon. Under Artaxerxes, the son and successor of Xerxes, the office of cup-bearer to the King was filled by Nehemiah, whose heart was so deeply affected towards the city of the sepulchre of his fathers, while he was performing the duties of his office before the King and Queen. (Neh. ii. 17.) This Artaxerxes, according to Oriental tradition, was also of Jewish birth by the mother’s side.

The mutual influence exercised upon one another by the two nations, may be noticed in

succeeding ages. It is more than probable that the books, or at least the reminiscences of Daniel, were known to Zoroaster, as we find in the Persian religion much that is spiritual, and little of the idolatry prevalent among the nations of antiquity. On the other hand, we may observe, that, after the residence of the Jews in Persia, Persian words were introduced into the language, and Persian names used to designate Jewish offices.

The appearance of Alexander the Great, as conqueror and ruler of the world, made a marked impression upon the destiny of the Jewish people, by bringing them in contact with the most highly civilized nations of antiquity.

To call Alexander *great* as a conqueror only, is not to do him justice; he deserves this title of distinction among the princes of antiquity in a far higher sense of the word. His ambition, and even his excesses, must not blind the eyes of the impartial historian to the glorious ideas he had formed, of which his actions and projects testify, for the peace, the welfare, and the civilization of the world. To bring the whole of Asia into subjection, not to the arms only, but to the civilization of the Greeks, was an idea worthy of a conqueror,

the disciple of Aristotle, the admirer of Homer and Pindar, the friend and protector of Apelles; whose powerful genius and enlightened observation could at once admire and adopt all that was great and beautiful. No one can fail to see the greatness and human wisdom of the project he formed, in fixing upon Babylon for the metropolis of the Grecian monarchy, and founding the city of Alexandria, between the Nile and the Mediterranean, in the place of Tyre, which he had overthrown. But this height of worldly greatness was destined to fall before reaching its complete elevation. The hero and prince had raised himself as a god, and he died from excesses which sank him below the brute. His great projects were left unfinished, and yet made serviceable to those designs of God's providence for which his whole career had laid the foundation. We need not, then, be surprised to find this period of the world's history prove eventful to the Jewish people. The Jews in Palestine found favour with Alexander, not only on account of their inviolable fidelity to Darius Codomanus, the last Persian King, but also because he knew the service they might render to his monarchy by carrying out his plans in all the countries where they were settled.

From the time of Alexander, a new era began in the history of the world in general, and of the Jews in particular. The latter became acquainted with the language, literature, and philosophy of the Greeks; while, on the other hand, the influence of their religion and principles was felt in the Grecian and Roman world. The Jews began to divide themselves into Hebrews and Hellenists; they multiplied synagogues in all parts of the world, and a Greek translation, called the Septuagint, was made of their sacred books. Thus, in three different ways, was preparation made for the diffusion of that Gospel which should come from the Jews. A single glance into Bible History suffices to show that these synagogues became, under Divine providence, the means by which a knowledge of the only true God was spread in some degree among the nations. From thence, also, did the apostles (especially the apostle of the Gentiles) declare among many nations the Gospel of Jesus Christ. **Acts ix. 20; xiii. 5—14; xiv. 1—10, 17; xviii. 4—19; xix. 8.**

At the time of the birth of Christ and the setting forth of the Gospel, Greek was the universal language, and, therefore, the means best fitted to convey the message and doctrines

of salvation to both Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian. Thus the revealed will of God, hitherto only expressed in Hebrew, was at the new dispensation written in Greek, the "new wine was put into new bottles." The language had been for centuries in a process of formation, while men of the greatest genius, talent, and discrimination, had gradually brought it to express with the greatest accuracy the thoughts and ideas of men. But the beautiful Greek language was destined to undergo a yet further preparation before it could express the fulness of Divine thought, and convey the richness of Divine revelation. It had to be imbued and penetrated with the spirit of the Hebrew, before it became the dialect in which the whole of the New Testament was embodied ;* and this had been accomplished in the translation of the sacred writings of the Jews, made by command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, which was known to, and constantly quoted by the apostles, and

* Many learned men have expressed an opinion that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, but I must differ from them for reasons which I have fully stated elsewhere. However it may be, part of those who attribute to St. Matthew a Gospel in Hebrew, state that he is also the author of that which bears his name in Greek.

which remains to our days one of the most valuable aids for the criticism of the Old Testament.

These events bring us to a period in the Macedonian empire, long after the death of Alexander and the division of the monarchy. We find in the kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Seleucidae in Syria, much to interest us, in connexion with the people of Israel. The first encounter of the Ptolemies with the Jewish people was not a friendly one, for the Jews remaining faithful to Laomedon of Mitylene, to whom the countries of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine had been allotted, resisted the victorious arms of Ptolemy Soter, the son of Lagus. Jerusalem was besieged and taken on the Sabbath-day, the Jews having interpreted the law in its strictest sense, and refused to defend themselves. Ptolemy who possessed great political tact, as well as talent for war, used his victory with wisdom and moderation. He put a stop to all ill-treatment of the vanquished, and taking some thousands of the inhabitants of Palestine into Egypt, he confirmed to them all the privileges which were before granted to them at Alexandria by the founders of that city; he also placed

many of these new colonists in important situations in the army and the governments. Under his successors, the Jews, except during the reign of Philopater, continued to prosper and distinguish themselves in Egypt. In the reigns of Ptolemy Philometer and Cleopatra especially, they rendered important services in the war, in which the names of Dositheus and Onias became illustrious. That of Onias has also passed down to posterity in connexion with the Jewish temple built by him in the country of Heliopolis, in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem. This temple—a thorn in the eyes to the Jews at Palestine—lasted but little longer than the temple at Jerusalem, being destroyed by Vespasian with the city of Onion, soon after the catastrophe of the latter.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Jews in Egypt, under the dominion of the Ptolemies, was their acquaintance with Grecian civilization, literature, and philosophy. Many learned Jews, among whom we may mention Philo, devoted themselves to the exclusive study of Greek literature, and communicating through that language to the Gentiles the Mosaic history and Jewish traditions, became rather Greeks than Jews. Among these Egyptian Jews the

use of their national Hebrew was by degrees laid aside, and the Septuagint version substituted for their original Scriptures.

The privileges granted to the Jews by Alexander, and his successors the Ptolemies, were afterwards confirmed by Julius Cæsar, in recompense for the great services rendered him by the Jews of Palestine under Antipater, the father of Herod, and by those of Onion in Egypt. Even after his time, the Jews continued prosperous at Alexandria, both in their commercial and political relations, and the fall of Jerusalem made but little change in their situation. We find under the first Christian emperors, that a great number of Jews were living at Alexandria, and often joining in the disputes between the Church and the Arians. When the city was taken by the Saracens, about the middle of the seventh century, the conquerors found nearly 40,000 Jews settled there and prospering. From that time the history of the Jews of Alexandria merges into that of the Arabians; they had survived even the Roman Empire!

We have found the Jews under the third monarchy, that of Alexander and his successors, mixed up in many memorable events with the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria. They also in-

habited the city of Rome, long before Vespasian led captive within its walls, the sad remnant who survived the destruction of their city and temple. It is most probable that the Jews first came to Rome and settled in many parts of Italy, after the victories of the Roman republic in the East, over Macedonia and Greece, and its wars in Syria, when alliance was made between Rome and Judea, a little before the time of the Maccabees. It is certain, that in the time of Julius Cæsar and Cicero, the Jews at Rome were both numerous and influential. This great orator, when pleading for Flaccus, makes mention of the immense sums sent to Jerusalem by the Jews at Rome, for the support and embellishment of the temple. So much were the Jews attached to the person and government of Julius Cæsar, that at Rome they testified their horror of his assassination by a revolt. We find the Jews at Rome mingling with every class of society, as conjurors, freed men, actors, and Roman citizens. Some think, that Aristius Fuscus, to whom the poet Horace addressed an ode, and whom he mentions in his letters and satires as an intimate friend, was a Roman Jew. Under the Emperor Augustus, ample privileges were granted to the Jews who lived at Rome, and full

liberty given them to build synagogues. These "strangers of Rome" are especially mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, among the witnesses of the miracle on the day of Pentecost. Under Tiberius they were treated with harshness, probably because of the imposition practised by four Jews upon a noble proselyte. Under Caligula and Claudius they were, together with the Christians, banished and recalled by turns. We find from Josephus that when he visited Rome for the first time, in the reign of Nero, he found Jews prospering and in favour at court, especially with Poppea, the emperor's wife, who seems to have been in some degree a proselyte.

The last period of the history of the Jews in their own country extends over 600 years (from 530 A.C. to 70 A.D.), during which stood the second temple, built by Zerubbabel, and enlarged and embellished by Herod. We have noticed that a change took place in the whole state of religion and politics among the Jews, on their return from the Babylonian captivity. Their outward character was improved, but tradition had sprung up by the side of truth, and nearly overpowered it; a knowledge of the Jewish religion had spread abroad, while the spirit of

heathen philosophy mixed itself in a degree even with sacred things. The temple was rebuilt; but, as if in rivalry of the sanctuary, a temple was raised by the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim, and another in Egypt by the Hellenist Jews. The entire change in the form of government is not less worthy of notice; monarchy had disappeared, and the house of David no longer occupied the highest rank, after Zerubbabel (a scion of that house) had established a republican form of government. An aristocracy, generally under the power of the high priesthood, took the place of monarchy. In subsequent years, except during the time of the Maccabees, the republic of Judea was usually dependent upon one of the great powers which succeeded the Babylonian empire. Under the Persian monarchy, from the days of Nehemiah, the Jews suffered neither oppression nor exaction, and if in later times they were treated with greater harshness, it was occasioned by their own feuds and disputes for the priesthood. We have before mentioned the fidelity of the Jews to Darius Codomanus, on account of which they refused to supply Alexander's army with provisions while carrying on the siege of Tyre. The powerful monarch determined to chastise them

as soon as the capital of Phœnicia was taken; but he gave up the project, and loaded the Jews with favours, in consequence of having seen in a dream the high priest, who really went out to meet him and to deprecate his wrath. These circumstances are related in Josephus's history. The same author gives us an account of some Jewish soldiers in Alexander's army, who refused their assistance in removing the remains of an idol temple at Babylon, and the clemency showed by the king towards them. After the death of Alexander (323 A.C.) and the division of his empire, Palestine and Syria remained for nearly a century subject to the Egyptian monarchy. In the year 202 A.C. the Jews became subjects of Antiochus the Great, whose rule at first seemed preferable to that of Ptolemy Philopater; but the sceptre of Syria began to weigh heavily on Judea, when swayed by Antiochus Epiphanes, surnamed Epimanes on account of his cruelty, the son of Antiochus the Great. Before this intervention of the king of Syria, a decidedly Grecian party was formed in Judea, at the head of which Joshua, the brother of the high priest, had placed himself, and with its assistance he easily obtained his brother's dignity; but Menelaus, a younger

brother, soon revolted against Joshua, who had taken the Greek name of Jason. The two, while separately striving to obtain their elder brother's office, were acting on the same principle, and animated by the same desire, of establishing Gentile customs among the Jews. The very same year (172 A.C.) the Jewish Sanhedrim was established at Jerusalem. By these constant feuds the Jewish people brought upon themselves cruel oppression and persecution. Antiochus, on his return from a war in Egypt, took the part of Menelaus, marched with him at once to Jerusalem, took the city, and gave it up to carnage and rapine (this was but a beginning of the barbarities he afterwards inflicted). He profaned the temple, stripped it of its treasures, and then dedicated it to Jupiter Olympus, leaving a Phrygian, named Philip, governor of the country. He forbade the observance of sabbaths and feasts, and the rite of circumcision, and compelled the people to defile themselves by eating pork. Jerusalem was in his days made desolate, and the caves of the surrounding mountains filled with fugitives.

In the midst of this night of darkness and gloom, the God of their fathers again rekindled the light of Israel. At Modin, in the western

part of Judea, an aged priest, named Mattathias, of Jozareb, rose like a second Phinehas, supported by his five heroic sons, Simon, Jonathan, Judah, Eleazer, and John. Mattathias gave the signal, by killing a Jew in the act of offering sacrifice to an idol (A.C. 168); and soon, throughout all Judea, under his command and that of his sons, a guerilla warfare began with the Syrian forces. On the death of the heroic father, his son Judas (the Maccabee), the third in age, but the first of his sons in valour and talent, took the command. With a very small army he performed great exploits, and gained a succession of victories, which brought by degrees the different towns and fortresses into his possession. The Syrians were many times defeated, with immense loss, and Jerusalem at length regained. In the year 165 A.C. the Temple was purified, and dedicated afresh with great pomp. The Feast of Dedication, or Feast of Lights, is kept by the Jews to this day, in remembrance of the event. (St. John x. 22.) The warlike career of the noble Maccabee was again crowned with success, when he turned his victorious arms against the Edomites, the Ammonites, and the Gileadites. After some less successful struggles, in which he was opposed by the

king of Syria in person, the city of Jerusalem was declared, by a treaty of capitulation, a dependency of Syria. Not long after this event, the brave Maccabee ended his career by a glorious death; being attacked by the Syrians under Bacchides, with an army of 2,200 men. He resisted this force with only 800 followers, and fell in a desperate battle between Lachish and Ashdod (the Thermopylæ of Judah). His youngest brother, Jonathan, the next in valour, succeeded him, and carried on, for five memorable years, the work of Judea's deliverance. Under Simon, the eldest, who succeeded his younger brothers, the independence of the Jewish state was established, and the supreme authority, with the office of high priest, vested in the family of the Asmonæans. Simon, as well as his brother Jonathan, perished by the treachery of his enemies; he was succeeded by his son John Hyrcanus, who showed himself by his virtue, talent, and valour, a worthy scion of the Maccabees. He continued the work his father had begun, and subjected the Edomites, who from that time became participators of the religion and institutions of the Jews.

In the latter part of the reign of Hyrcanus the Great, an important change took place, in

the connexion between the reigning power and the two great religious sects of Judea. This prince separated himself entirely from the Pharisees, on account of an insult which they offered to him in public; and both he and his sons, Aristobulus and Alexander Janneus, successively ranged themselves on the side of the Pharisees. The reign of Aristobulus was short, and offers nothing worthy of note; the dominion of his brother Alexander Janneus, which continued twenty-seven years, was marked by disturbance and cruelty. At his death he desired his Queen Alexandra to effect a reconciliation with the Pharisees, for the sake of his sons. From that time the two religious sects again sided with political parties, the Pharisees taking the part of Hyrcanus II., the Sadducees that of Aristobulus II., his younger but more valiant brother. These intestine divisions hastened the downfall of the Asmonean dynasty, and brought the Jewish state, first under the influence, and then under the rule, of the Herods.

The Jews, under Judas Maccabeus, had sent ambassadors and made alliance with the Romans against the king of Syria, in the year 161 A.C. This treaty was confirmed in the time of his brother Simon, and contained the

following articles:—The condition of mutual assistance in war; a prohibition to the surrounding nations to supply the enemies of Judea with corn; and an enrolment of the Jews as friends and allies of the Roman people, by a decree of the Senate written upon brass.

Thus a friendly relation subsisted for many years, the Romans never interfering in the affairs of Judea, till Aristobulus II. called in the aid of Pompey against Hyrcanus II., who, with an army of Arabs, was approaching the walls of Jerusalem. Aristobulus tried to gain the favour of Pompey, after his deliverance from this danger, by sending him presents (in particular the golden vine), and by agreeing with his rival to submit to the tribunal of Rome the decision between their respective claims. Without waiting for, or regarding this decision, however, he assumed the title of king, and thus brought upon himself the wrath of Pompey, who immediately marched against Jerusalem, and by a concurrence of adverse circumstances, succeeded with much difficulty in making himself master of the city. He spared the treasures laid up in the temple, but entered the Holy of Holies. This first conquest of the city and temple of Jerusalem

by the Romans took place, most likely, in the same year that Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, entered that temple to worship, day and night, for sixty-three years, until she saw in the arms of Simeon the child born at Bethlehem, and confessed him to be the Lord. (Luke iv. 36, 38.) The dominion of Judea thus fell to the share of Hyrcanus II., or rather to Antipater the Edomite, who ruled in the name of the feeble Asmonean prince. A few years after, in the struggle that took place between Pompey and Cæsar for the possession of Rome and the whole world, Antipater rendered many services to the latter. He assisted Cæsar in Egypt, both by the influence which he exercised in his favour with the Jews of Onion, and also by succouring him with a body of Israelitish troops, who rendered great service in the siege and taking of Pelusium. Cæsar showed his gratitude by privileges conferred on the Jews in Egypt, which were publicly proclaimed at Alexandria; by rebuilding the fortifications of Jerusalem; and by confirming the crown to Hyrcanus II., under the tutelage of Antipater.

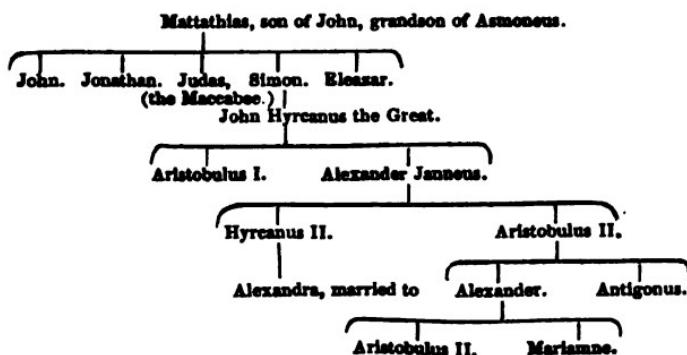
From that time, a friendly relation was kept up with Rome under Cæsar, Anthony, and Octavius, while Jerusalem was under the

dominion of Antipater and his sons, Herod and Phasael. Anthony raised the two latter, by a decree, to the rank of tetrarchs of Judea, and thus the foundation of the Asmonean monarchy was undermined. Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus, (who with his eldest son Alexander had already fallen in their efforts to regain the throne,) sought assistance from the Parthians, who had long been enemies of Rome. Pacorus with his army marched to Jerusalem, and made Hyrcanus II. and Phasael prisoners. Phasael committed suicide in prison, and Hyrcanus had his ears cut off, to disable him from again claiming the high priesthood and royal power. Herod escaped to Rome, and was there proclaimed by a decree of the senate, passed before Octavius and Anthony, king of Judea. The Asmonean family were set aside, and Antigonus declared an enemy of the Romans. When the Parthians were defeated, he was taken and crucified. After much bloodshed, Herod obtained possession of Jerusalem, and his title to the throne was confirmed by Octavius after the battle of Actium. Thus, the grandson of an Idumean idolater obtained the throne of the Asmoneans, and reigned in the city of David over his house and kingdom. Herod the Great reigned

for nearly forty years over the Jewish people; his government afforded some instances of greatness of mind employed for the good of his subjects, but it was sullied by a corrupt form of worship, which mingled reverence for the gods and demigods of the heathen with the service of Jehovah, and by a series of murders committed on the remaining members of the Asmonean family. He slew the high priest Aristobulus, his brother-in-law, Hyrcanus II., his grandfather, his wife Mariamne, and two of his sons, and massacred all the children of Bethlehem, with the intention of putting to death the new-born King of the Jews.*

It is written, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his

* GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF THE MACCABEES, OR ASMONEANS.



feet, until Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be." (Gen. xlix. 10.) And it was so, when in accordance with the Word of God by his prophets, the promised Messiah was born at Bethlehem. Judea, though not independent, was still in existence as a kingdom: there was still in Judah a sceptre and a lawgiver. A few years after the birth of the Shiloh, Judea became a Roman province, without government or jurisdiction of its own. When "the Saviour, who is Christ the Lord," was born in Bethlehem of Judea, the whole civilised world spoke one language—that of Greece, and acknowledged one dominion—that of Rome. The Emperor Augustus, after ages of warfare and struggle, reigned in peace at Rome over the whole world, the fourth monarchy foretold by Daniel was at the height of its greatness. Rome, with her million and a half of citizens, extended her sway from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, from the desert of Africa to the banks of the Rhine, ruling over 120,000,000 of men, and 100,000 square miles, the boundaries of all her provinces being brought to centre in a pillar in the midst of the imperial city.

The birth of the Messiah at Bethlehem,

the city of David, according to the word of the prophet, was closely connected in its accomplishment with the extension of the Roman dominion over the whole world. "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David:) to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered. And she brought forth her firstborn son." (St. Luke ii. 1—7.)

The angel who announced his birth to the Virgin of Nazareth said, that "God would give him the throne of his father David;" that he should "reign over the house of Jacob for ever." (St. Luke i. 32, 33.) "Born King of the Jews," he was saluted as such by the eastern magi, and was crucified with this superscription. It was then "the fulness of time," when the world was brought into the presence of its Creator, and Israel before his

King ; " God was manifest in the flesh," and thus was made manifest also what the world was—what it had become through sin. Israel filled up the measure of their iniquity by condemning their Messiah ; Rome, as representative of the Gentile world, executed the bloody sentence. Jesus Christ prayed for his murderers—for both Jew and Gentile—who in sinful ignorance shed the blood that has purchased for both, remission of sins by faith in his name. Yet he is still " King of the Jews," and will one day restore the kingdom. (Acts i. 6, 7.) When the judgment of God for the rejection of Messiah has been poured out, and his people scattered to the furthest corners of the earth, then will he gather again the twelve tribes of Israel, and through them dispense happiness to a renewed world, under the dominion of the one Shepherd, the Lamb that was slain, the Lion that hath conquered. He had said to Jerusalem and to the Jewish people, " Ye would not ' receive me,' and now behold your house is left unto you desolate ; " and when, another time, he drew near and " beheld the city, he wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace ! but now they are hid from thine eyes.

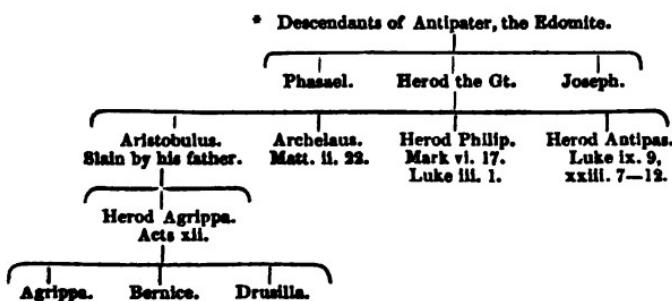
They shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." (St. Luke xix. 41, 42, 44.) Yet with the denunciation, he has given sure promise of certain restoration: "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, *until* the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." (St. Luke xxi. 24.) The sentence of Jerusalem was to receive its execution from Rome. But the fearful judgment was preceded by a period of unusual peace and prosperity, such as the country had not enjoyed since the days of Solomon. We may note this, as one striking feature among the many, that attract our attention, as we contemplate the awful scene of the ruin of Jerusalem and the Jewish people. The land was at that time in a high state of cultivation, rich in produce of all kinds, abundantly sprinkled with towns and populous villages. Tacitus and Josephus both speak in high terms of the strength, martial courage, and contempt of death, which characterized its people. This prosperity, which had much increased, even during the reign of Herod the Great, must appear striking in its contrast on the very eve of the day of destruction. Our

Saviour's words were not spoken in vain, when he likened the city to Sodom and Gomorrah, surprised by fire from heaven in the midst of their daily occupations and enjoyments; and does not his word foretel that thus it will be also at the coming of the Son of Man?

Before, however, the iron hand of Rome might bring desolation upon Judea and Jerusalem, they were destined to behold the triumphs of the Gospel of Christ, and the sufferings of its martyrs. Jerusalem should yet witness the pouring out of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples, the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the conversion of St. Paul, the death of the two James's, and the establishment of the first Christian synod within its walls. When the Gospel had "gone forth from Jerusalem," the day of judgment dawned upon the city which had slain the prophets and the Messiah. About seventy years after the birth of Christ, and his presentation in the temple, about forty years after he had foretold its final destruction, the typical law having received at Golgotha its entire fulfilment, and accomplished its purpose in the kingdom of God, gave place to the new covenant. In the year 68, the apostles had most of them finished their course, St. Paul and St. Peter had suffered martyrdom,

and a violent persecution of the Christians begun at Rome, under Nero; St. John alone had survived.

Judea became, after the death of Herod the Great and the deposition of his son Archelaus, a Roman province. Under Pontius Pilate, the clouds seemed gathering for a storm of insurrection, which was nearly breaking forth when Caligula tried to compel the Jews to place his statue in the temple, but his death changed for a time the course of events and lulled the rising tempest. Claudius, the successor of Caligula, annexed the government of Judea to that of Galilee, and gave the sceptre to Herod Agrippa, so that the whole of Palestine was once more united under a descendant of Herod the Great.* At Herod Agrippa's death, Galilee alone remained under the joint government of his son Agrippa and Bernice, while Judea fell completely into



the power of the Romans, and was governed successively by Felix, Festus, Cuspius Fadus, and Gessius Florus. It was under the oppressive rule of the latter, that the insurrection began, which ended in the destruction of the Jewish people.

(A.D. 66.) In Gessius Florus, we have a specimen of the grasping, covetous, and cruel Roman governor; he loaded the people with taxes, and treated them with contempt. Their exasperation first vented itself in ridicule,—some one went round the city with a bag or basket, and begged for a trifle for the *poor* governor. This satire produced scenes of bloodshed, and these again were but fresh signals for the revolt which had long been ready to break out. Florus entered the city with his soldiers, and reeked his vengeance upon some thousands of the inhabitants, whom he massacred without regard to age, sex, or condition. Even the intercession of Queen Bernice, who was then visiting Jerusalem, was of no avail. For a moment, it appeared possible that a reconciliation might be effected between the contending parties; for, at the solicitation of the priests and elders, the Jews reluctantly consented to meet and salute the Roman legions recalled from Cæsarea, as a means of

re-establishing peace. A foreboding and disdainful silence was, however, the only answer vouchsafed by the Romans to their greeting. Then a cry of indignation was raised by the Jews, thus cruelly provoked. The legion drew their swords, the Jews rose in a body and occupied the citadel of Antonio, near the Temple. Both parties appealed to Cestius, the governor of Syria, and he, desiring to reinstate Florus, demanded an unconditional submission. He was responded to with the cry of "War, war, with Edom!"* repeated from every part of the Jewish dominions. King Agrippa, and the moderate party at Jerusalem, tried to calm the minds of the people, but Cestius came up to quell the insurrection by force. After seizing a few strongholds, he was completely surrounded by his enemies, who rose and seemed to multiply on all sides; the Romans retired, weeping with rage, having only escaped complete destruction by the successful result of a stratagem. (A.D. 68.) The tidings that Judea was in a state of insurrection, struck terror into the heart of Nero, in the midst of his fearful debaucheries. He imagined that the safety

* Rome is designated as Edom by the Rabbinical writers.

of the empire was threatened, and sent Vespasian, a man raised from the ranks by his tried valour and skill, at the head of a formidable army, accompanied by his son Titus, and Trajan, father of the emperor of that name. In the mean while, the insurrection was spreading and becoming organized, amidst the signs and foreboding of calamity foretold by the Lord. The command of Upper and Lower Galilee was intrusted to Josephus, the son of Mattathias, sprung from a family belonging to the priesthood, and descended on the mother's side from the Asmonean race. This general, famed also as a cotemporary historian, formed his plans of defence at Gamala, where he awaited the Roman army, who, with their auxiliary forces of Syrians, Arabs, and Egyptian horsemen, marched against him, under, the golden eagle of the Cæsars. The towns of Galilee were first attacked, and Josephus sustained a siege of forty-seven days at Jotapater, with a courage and military skill which has obtained universal admiration. He was at length obliged to abandon his position, after 4000 Jews (according to his usually exaggerated calculation) had perished in the defence and capture of the town. Josephus held out for some time

longer, having concealed himself with forty of his soldiers in a subterranean passage. Having escaped alive, almost by miracle, he surrendered himself to Vespasian, and foretold to the future emperor the high destiny that awaited him. Though guarded for some time as a prisoner, he was subsequently released, and treated with peculiar favour by the two generals, from whom he received the name of Flavius. From that time he never bore arms against the Romans, but acted to the end as a mediator, endeavouring, in concert with King Agrippa, to use his influence in bringing about a capitulation upon equitable terms. He survived the destruction of Jerusalem, his life, and all his property being secured to him by favour of the emperor. He wrote a "History of the War between the Jews and the Romans," a "History of the Jewish Nation," and memoirs of his own life, all interesting sources of information, and mostly to be depended upon as faithful recitals of the almost unexampled events which came within his own observation. He exhibits more partiality to the conqueror than to his own people, without quite losing sight of his own nationality. When, however, his national pride appears, it is mingled with too much self-

complacency. We may easily conceive the treatment such a character would meet with from its cotemporaries, especially the Zealots. By their party, his conduct during the siege of Jerusalem was looked upon as open treachery against his country and his people. The fresh interest taken in our time, in all that concerns the Jewish people, has essentially modified the opinion which the Christian world had formed of Josephus. His History was long considered only as the testimony of an unconverted Jew, who witnessed and described the misfortunes of his country.

In our days, a different view, in many respects, is taken of the subject. Modern Jewish criticism complains that in taking for granted the whole testimony of Josephus, we only hear one side of the question.* Those who take this view endeavour to establish, by means of Josephus's works, the arguments and reasons of his political antagonists, especially those of John of Giscala, the famous Zealot, the memoirs of whose party have not passed down to us. Josephus is blamed by Christians also for his want of patriotism, and his prejudice in favour of the

* "A History of the Roman Dominion in Judea, and the Destruction of Jerusalem," by Salvador. Paris, 1847.

most cruel enemies of his nation. It is no longer thought to add to *his* credit, *who*, taking no Christian view of the subject, was ignorant of the greatest and real crime of Israel, that he displayed so much severity towards his countrymen, and so much admiration for the desolators of Jerusalem.* In making these remarks, we do not mean to detract from the great value of Josephus's testimony, or to overlook the evident guidance of God, in appointing that the crimes and wickedness of which the nation were guilty should be recorded by the pen of a cotemporary *Jewish* historian. The tendency of Christians in our days is to sympathize with the sufferings of the Jewish people, while recognising in them judgments inflicted by God himself. Thus they can no longer look with undivided admiration upon the authors of all this misery, or disregard the bravery, and even, *humanly speaking*, the *justice* of *cause* on the Jewish side, in their struggle with Rome. If, however, we consider the circumstances in which Josephus was placed, and the peculiar features of his character, we shall no longer be surprised at his own conduct, or the views he was led to take of the events before him.

* See Charlotte Elizabeth's "Judea Capta."

During the war between the Jews and the Romans, we may notice among the former, three distinct parties:—the aristocratic, or Conservative party, who desired peace; that of the Zealots, whose aim was entire deliverance from the Roman power; lastly, that of the Sicarii, or ultra-Revolutionists, men of bloodshed and pillage. We find, long before this time, both in the history of Josephus, and even in the gospels, these three different parties beginning to manifest themselves.* It was but natural that all should feel equal hatred and aversion to the Roman dominion, modified, however, by the difference of rank and situation. Nor was it less in accordance with the spirit of the times, that these three parties, stirred up by fierce and angry discussions, should be as ready to draw their swords upon one another, as to use their united efforts against the common enemy. Josephus belonged by birth, rank, and natural disposition, to the first of these, the aristocracy of the country.

Sharing but feebly, even in a worldly-minded manner, the national expectation of a Messiah, he could not oppose to Roman tyranny the zeal, or rather, fanaticism,

* St. John xi. 48, 49; Acts v. 86; xxi. 32; xxiii. 12.

of the Zealots, or religious Jews, who were in constant expectation of a Messiah, whose earthly rule should be established, they imagined, by force of arms.

As long as Josephus considered that oppression and ill-treatment gave the Jews just cause of complaint and resistance, he exhausted in their defence all the enthusiasm he possessed, and exerted the great talents with which he was really endowed ; but when Gessius Florus and Gallus Cestius were replaced by Vespasian and Titus, we cannot be surprised at his taking quite a different view of affairs, and choosing for himself the position he afterwards occupied, between the Romans and his fellow-countrymen, which he sustained with dignity amidst the reproaches and vociferations of his enemies.

He knew the inexhaustible resources of Rome, and, more than ever convinced, after the siege and taking of Jotapata, that the courage of the Jews, though desperate in its character, could not cope with the science and discipline of the Roman army, he only sought the means of saving his country by a pacification, which he continued to the last to offer and recommend to his countrymen, in the name of the Roman General. In taking

a view of these events, though we may reproach Josephus with the want of true patriotism, we should not overlook the value of his testimony, the real superiority of which we are daily better able to appreciate. His topographical knowledge of the country and the holy city, his acquaintance with the military tactics, both of the Jews and Romans, and his skill in the art of fortification, place Josephus on a line of equality with writers such as Vigeſtius and Polybius.

To return to the history. In Galilee, Gamala also fell into the hands of the Romans, after a heroic defence, in which both Vespasian and his son were wounded. The way to Jerusalem was now open, but important tidings from Italy arrested, for a time, the progress of the Roman arms in Palestine. Nero had been declared by the Roman Senate an enemy of the State, and had killed himself; Galba and Otho, having reigned each a few days, were succeeded by Vitellius, proclaimed Emperor by the Roman legions in Germany. During these revolutions, Vespasian remained in camp, under the walls of Cæsarea. It is most probable, that, during this involuntary armistice, the Christians at Jerusalem, obeying the injunctions of our Lord, escaped to Pella,

among the mountains. (St. Luke xx. 20, 21.) Vespasian was soon after proclaimed Emperor by the troops before Cæsarea, and hastened, in consequence, to Rome, leaving the command of the war, and the siege of Jerusalem, to his son Titus.

It was in the spring of the year 70, that Titus, assembling his legions at Cæsarea, gave orders to the fifth legion to march upon Emmaus—to the tenth, to fall upon Jericho, and to the twelfth, (still burning with desire to efface their defeat under Cestius) to post itself upon the Mount of Olives. The feast of the Passover was at hand, and an immense multitude of Israelites were assembled at Jerusalem ; so that when Titus and his allies marched against the city, it contained, according to Josephus, 2,700,000 persons. At first, the attack and defence were carried on with equal fury ; but to the violent and repeated sallies of the besieged, which had surprised and scattered the tenth legion, the Romans subsequently opposed a determination to remain immovable as the solid rock, which stands unshaken amidst the raging billows that break upon it. Brilliant and imposing in appearance, with its formidable array of warlike engines, was the army which Titus posted upon the north side of Jerusalem.

From thence he overlooked the beautiful city, seated on her two mountains, and the valley between them filled with citizens, all armed, all on the watch. On the east side, the upper town was at once adorned and defended by the Temple, and the tower of Antonia. The lower town had before been partially demolished in the time of the Maccabees. On the south side was Zion, the city of David, while a triple wall, defended by ninety towers, surrounded the whole extent of the city. The siege lasted five months; at the end of the first, the Roman cohorts, after many bloody conflicts, took possession of the first wall, and the northern suburb of Bezetha fell into the hands of Titus. Five days after, the second wall was taken by the Roman General, who made way through the breach with 2,000 men, and subdued the new town, which formed the centre of industry and commerce at Jerusalem. Then began the second and more dreadful part of the siege. For two months (from the end of April to the beginning of July) the Romans had been casting up works against the tower of Antonia, from which the Roman governor of Jerusalem formerly overlooked the Temple, and put a check on the whole force of the people. (Acts xxi. 34.) Titus again

attempted to persuade the Jews to capitulate. He sent Josephus to them, with proposals of clemency; but the Zealots received him with derision, and with showers of stones. A fearful series of crucifixions of the Jewish prisoners then took place by command of Titus, but this also failed to make any impression upon the besieged. They even gained ground against the Romans, and it seemed for a moment possible that the tide of war might even yet be turned. The Jews contrived, by a successful mining operation, and an attack conducted simultaneously by Simon, the son of Gioras, and John, of Giscala, to destroy the engines of the besiegers, and even subject them to a considerable defeat. While affairs were in this state, the plan formed by Titus was adopted in a council of war held by the captains: his proposal took a middle line, between those who desired an immediate attack and those who would reduce the city by famine alone. It was to compass the whole city with a wall, surmounted by thirteen towers, at a little distance from the third and last wall remaining to the Jews. This work, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have taken three months to complete, was actually raised in three days, by the incredible activity of the Romans.

Thus unexpectedly were the words of our Lord, in his address to Jerusalem, literally fulfilled. (Luke xix.) “For * the days shall come that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and keep thee in on every side, and thy children within thee.” From that time the miseries endured by the besieged are beyond recital; then was fulfilled, to the very letter, the heart-rending prophecy, “the pitiful women have sodden their own children;” then was there indeed *Woe upon Jerusalem*.

After many fearful struggles, the citadel of Antonia was taken and demolished by the Romans, and Titus stationed his victorious army upon Mount Moriah. He once more made an offer of pardon, which was answered as usual by an obstinate rejection, and the same day the Romans planted their formidable battering rams against the Temple. For six days the indomitable courage of its defenders, and the immense solidity of its walls, resisted every effort. At length, however, the sanctuary itself was carried; and though the day before Titus, in a council of war, had given the strictest injunctions that the Temple should be preserved; yet in the

* Περιβαλούσιν οἱ εχθροί σου χάρακά σοι, καὶ περικυλάσσουσι σε, καὶ συνέξουσί σε παντοθεν.

fury and confusion of the conflict, a burning torch was thrown by one of the Roman soldiers into a chamber near the Holy of Holies, and the fire which ensued defied every effort to subdue it. Thus were fulfilled the words of Daniel: "The people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined." (Dan. ix. 26.) On the fourteenth day of the seventieth year did the daily sacrifice cease in Israel. It was on the ninth of Ab that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the first Temple, and on the same day, 168 years after, the golden eagle of Rome was raised on the site of the second Temple. In this extremity, the besieged began to entertain thoughts of a surrender, and demanded a parley. They offered to abandon the city to the conquerors on condition of being allowed to leave it themselves with their wives and children. The besiegers on their side were now inflexible, and the Jews throwing themselves into the royal palace, defended the upper town with the same desperate courage with which they had disputed every inch of the lower. Another victory was gained by the Romans with incredible effort and fearful bloodshed, and on

the 8th of September the sun rose upon the smoking ruins alone of the city, deluged with the blood of its inhabitants. The end was come. Many days were devoted to wreaking vengeance on the vanquished, pillaging the city, and crucifying the remaining inhabitants. After the taking of Jerusalem, many strongholds, such as Herodion, Macairah, and Massada, fell into the hands of the Romans, after being defended by the Jews to the last extremity, and not then surrendered, but abandoned to the enemy, who found in them only the dead bodies of their inhabitants, who had put one another to death.

When Titus, standing upon the ruins of the prostrate city, contemplated his triumph, he is said to have exclaimed, "It is in truth a god who has given us the victory and driven the Jews from a position from which no human power could ever have dislodged them." Josephus, who relates this circumstance, states also, that 1,100,000 men perished during this fatal war, either in its conflicts, sieges, and assaults, or by the hand of the executioner. An immense multitude of prisoners, men, women, and children, were either sold into slavery, crucified, or thrown to wild beasts. The General was lavish in praise of the valour

of his legions, and a solemn triumph was decreed to him by the Senate.

Three days before the close of the memorable year 70, the Emperor Vespasian and his son Titus, habited in purple, and crowned with laurel, entered Rome by the gate of triumph, followed by their proud warriors, and by the acclamations of the delighted populace, on their way to the temple of victory. Among the trophies carried before and after the triumphal car of the victor, besides many designs representing various passages of the war, were the holy vessels of the Temple at Jerusalem, its golden table, its seven-branched candlestick, and the book of the law of Moses. The strongest and finest looking of the prisoners were led chained to the car of triumph; among them was Simon, the son of Gioras, who, amidst the shouts of the brutal multitude, was beaten and slain by the lictors on the Tarpeian rock, and John of Giscala, who was doomed to a perpetual imprisonment.

Vespasian dedicated a temple to the goddess of peace in honour of this day, and bronze and marble were employed to immortalize his triumph. Few are unacquainted with the Roman medal, representing Judea as a weeping female, resting her head on her hand, at the foot of the

palm of her country, while the fierce Roman soldier stands by unmoved.

A faithful representation of the holy vessels of the Temple still remains to us in the sculptures decorating the marble arch, called by the name of the Victor, by the erection of which the vain-glory of the Roman Emperor has transmitted to posterity a most interesting memorial of the dreadful conflict between Rome and Jerusalem, and given an involuntary testimony of the truth of Holy Scripture, in which those fearful judgments had been long before predicted.

Even to this day, the Jews in every country of their exile and dispersion have continued to observe the 9th day of the month Ab, in memorial of both the first and second destruction of their city and sanctuary. Next to the great day of atonement, it is the most strictly kept of their fasts. Even the day before, the pious Israelite takes nothing beyond what absolute necessity requires : he seats himself on the ground, either at home or in the synagogue, by the dim light of a small candle, and the evening service commences with the 138th Psalm :—“ By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept.” Mournful and penitential psalms are chanted in succession throughout the day, especially the Lamentations

of Jeremiah, of which so many striking features, once fulfilled in the taking of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, were still more signally accomplished, in its destruction by the Romans.* Let us look at one touching passage, taken from the mournful prophet of Israel, which is repeated on the fast of Ab in the synagogues of the dispersed and captive nation:—

- 1 How is the gold tarnished !
The good pure gold changed !
The stones of the sanctuary poured out at the
end of every street ;
- 2 The precious sons of Zion,
Likened unto refined gold,
How are they counted as earthen vessels,
Work of the hands of the potter !
- 3 Even the jackals draw out the breast,
They give suck to their young ;
The daughter of my people is cruel,
Like the ostriches of the desert.
- 4 The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to its
jaws for thirst,
The little children ask bread—no one breaketh it
to them.

* In the synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, since their expulsion from the country in the fifteenth century, these chapters of Jeremiah are read with their Judeo-Spanish translation, as if to connect the remembrance of the destruction of Jerusalem by the *armies of Rome* with the banishment of the Jews from their adopted country by the *Inquisition of Rome*.

- 5 They that fed upon dainties,—are desolate in
the streets.
Brought up upon couches of scarlet,—they lie
upon dunghills.
- 6 And the iniquity of the daughter of my people
is become greater than the sin of Sodom.
Whose overthrow was sudden,
And no hand undermined her.
- 7 Her princes were purer than snow,
They were whiter than milk,
They were more ruddy than rubies,
Their body as a sapphire,
- 8 Their faces are darker than blackness,
They are not recognised in the streets ;
Their skin cleaveth to the bones.
They are withered as a stick.
- 9 The slain with the sword were happier than those
slain with hunger,
For they died pierced through,—but these for
lack of the fruits of the field.
- 10 The hands of the pitiful women have sodden
their children,
They were their sustenance in the destruction of
the daughter of my people.
- 11 Jehovah hath spent his wrath,
He hath poured out the fury of his anger,
And hath kindled a fire in Zion,
It hath consumed her foundations.
- 12 The kings of the earth had not believed,
Nor the inhabitants of the world,
That an adversary or an enemy would come into
the gates of Jerusalem.

- 13 For the sins of her prophets,
The iniquity of her priesthood,
Who shed the blood of the righteous in the midst
of her.
- 14 They wandered as the blind in the streets,
They were defiled with blood,
So that men could not touch their garments.
- 15 Depart, O unclean, they cry to them, Depart,
depart, approach not !
For they were made desolate, they also wandered,
And it was said by the nations, They shall not
continue to sojourn.
- 16 The wrath of Jehovah hath scattered them,
He will no more look upon them.
They have not shown honour to the priests,
They have not respected the aged.
- 17 Our eyes are still dim,
With looking for our help in vain,
In watching we have watched,
For a nation that cannot save.
- 18 They have constantly laid a snare
For all that walk in our streets ;
Our end is near, they have filled our days,
For our end is come.
- 19 They that pursued us were swifter than the
eagles of heaven,
They chased us upon the mountains,
They laid wait for us in the wilderness.

Lam. iv. 1—19.

Jerusalem had fallen, and the prediction of

Jesus concerning the city, its Temple, and its inhabitants was accomplished. But the prophecies of misery were not completely fulfilled, the sentence not executed to the utmost, nor the history of Jerusalem yet ended.

The Temple was burned, the town and its inhabitants destroyed, the “city of the great king” had become a ruin. But to this ruin a history belongs, which has not yet come to a close; a history which bears the annals of more than 1800 years. The prophecies of God’s Word also speak of this ruin, these dry bones which shall one day live. “Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.” (Luke xxi. 24.) The subject we have taken in hand requires us to give a short view of this *treading under foot*, to which it was subjected successively by Christians, Persians, Saracens, Egyptians, Franks, and Turks.

Our sketch will begin in the time of Titus, Trajan, and Adrian, and extend to the times of Mehemet Ali and Abdoul; from the days of Simon, the son of Gioras, and John of Giscala to those of Sir Moses Montefiore; and the foundation in these latter days of a Protestant Christian Bishopric at Jerusalem.

We have already mentioned, that the prophecies concerning Jerusalem, and the existence of Judea, were not entirely accomplished. Truly, according to the words of our Saviour, on the Mount of Olives, one stone of the Temple and its magnificent buildings had not been left upon another; but, in Jerusalem itself, there still remained standing three out of the ninety towers which formerly guarded its walls. The towers of Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne still remained, and after the days of Vespasian and Titus became again strongholds of the people of Israel, not yet entirely disengaged by their preceding overthrow.

It is also very remarkable, that, among the judgments which should follow the rejection of Messiah, our Lord had foretold the appearance of false prophets and false Christs; and this sign of the times had as yet been wanting. No one heading the revolts against Nero and the Vespasians ever assumed the title of Messiah, or King of Israel! But exactly half a century after the destruction of Jerusalem, a similar insurrection under the conduct of a pseudo-Messiah exhibits a yet more formidable struggle between the Jewish people and the Romans, with a more completely decisive issue. In this point of view the revolt under Bar

Cochba* and his companion, or Prophet Akiba, is a marked epoch in the history of Israel's overthrow as a nation by the Roman Emperor.

It is, however, to be regretted that after the complete annals of the first destruction of Jerusalem, given us by Josephus, an eye-witness, we have no regular or detailed narrative; so that the account of the revolt under Bar Cochba comes down to us more as a kind of legend than as matter of history. The Danish Bishop Munster, celebrated for his research into the history of the Jews after their rejection of the Messiah, notwithstanding the interesting result of his inquiries, remarks upon the numerous blanks which occur at this period, and expresses a doubt of their being ever filled up. The following particulars, however, seem to be well authenticated.

In the reign of the Emperor Trajan, the first outbreaks began of a fresh revolt of the Jews against the Romans. In the year A.D. 115, the Emperor, having been victorious in person over all the Asiatic powers, and extended his dominion nearly to the capital of Parthia, was reposing, like Alexander the

* In later years, the Jews recognising the deception practised upon them, surnamed him Bar Coziba, or, *son of a lie*.

Great, at Babylon, after his daring and successful exploits; when the announcement reached him on the spot, that a general revolt was breaking out among the Jews, all along the coast of the Mediterranean, in Cyprus, Egypt, and Cyrene. In the latter province an almost incredible amount of Greeks and Romans are said to have perished by the hands of the Jews. The insurrection spread to the banks of the Euphrates, and the Romans feared an alliance between the Jews and Parthians, which, in fact, soon took place. Trajan removed to Antioch, but, being taken ill there, died on his way to Rome. Ælius Adrian, a relation of his, also of Spanish extraction, succeeded him. During the first years of his reign, the General Martius Turbo quelled the disturbances among the Jews of Asia and Egypt, which were only a prelude to the general insurrection in Palestine during the last years of the reign of Adrian. It was about the year A.D. 133, nearly twenty years after the insurrection quelled by Martius Turbo, and sixty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, that the approach of the seventieth year, so happy a period at the time of the first captivity, brought to maturity a plan which had long been forming in the hearts of the people.

The elders of Israel, who had in their youthful days beheld the glory of the Temple, flattered themselves and the people with the hope that they should soon witness the re-establishment of their nation, and the rebuilding of their city and temple.

Adrian, always, and not without cause, mistrustful of the Jews, kindled by his very precautions the spark which set the whole country in a blaze; when he decreed that Jerusalem should be made a Roman colony, with the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, and prohibited the ceremony of circumcision. About this time the Emperor visited in person the provinces of Syria and Egypt. A profound stillness then reigned in Palestine, but hardly had Adrian reached the more remote Asiatic provinces, when the insurrection broke out with inconceivable fury. Bether, or Bethhoron, to the north-west of Jerusalem, became the headquarters of revolt, and the seat of its leader Bar Cochba. There, many thousands of the Jewish people flocked to him from all parts, and declared him their Prince and Messiah of the house of David. From thence he extended his conquests as far as Syria, persecuted the Christians, who refused to join the insurrection, and took possession of Jerusalem, where

he changed the form of the Samaritan coins, by the addition of his own name, with the title of Nasi, or Prince.

This guerilla warfare continued for four years. The slaughter then made among the Romans was quite unprecedented, to judge from the expressions of their own writers, who describe this war "as a shaking of the whole earth." They even assert, that on this occasion the Emperor omitted the formulary with which his communications to the Senate were usually headed, viz., "I and the army fare well." Jerusalem was ere long retaken by Titus Annius Rufus, who subsequently gained possession of fifty strongholds, and 980 townships, including Bether. By a last effort, in which the Emperor exerted, as it were, all his strength, the war was brought to a close; and after incredible exertions and immense loss, the ancient and tenacious enemy of Rome was effectually crushed.

Titus had destroyed the capital of Judea, but Adrian made the whole country of Palestine a desolation, and completed the expulsion of its inhabitants and their dispersion over all the earth, A.D. 136. After this last conflict, we hear no more of Bar Cochba, though it is uncertain if he fell by the hands of the Romans

or of his own countrymen. Akiba was taken and executed ; tradition relates that he suffered by torture. About 580,000 Jews perished in the four years of this murderous warfare, and thousands of prisoners were sold at the very lowest price ; others found a refuge in foreign lands, a great number of whom joined the Jewish colonies already established in Spain.

Ælia Capitolina had risen into a city, but Mount Zion was no longer within the walls of this heathen Jerusalem ; a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus occupied the spot where the house of Jehovah formerly stood ; and over the Beth-lehem gate was placed the image of a pig, the abomination of the Jews, but a favourite device of the Romans. At Golgotha, a statue of Venus was erected ; at Bethlehem, a temple to Adonis. The Jews were forbidden on pain of death to approach or inhabit Ælia Capitolina ; this decree remained in force 200 years.

From the time of Antoninus, the successor of Adrian, the ordinance of circumcision was allowed to the Jews themselves, but not to proselytes. Jerusalem being thus made entirely a Roman town, the Jews fixed the head quarters of their national religion at Tiberias, where they first committed to writing the Mishna, or oral law. The Christians consoled

themselves with the expectation of the New Jerusalem from heaven, foretold in the writings of the Jewish prophets, and of St. John, the prophetic apostle. Christianity, sprung from among the Jews, had by this time *gained a spiritual victory* over the nation which had *materially subdued* them and the world.

A Christian bishop was ordained for *Ælia*, who, in process of time, ventured to call himself the Bishop of Jerusalem, and in the days of Constantine he received the title and authority of Patriarch. One bishop of *Ælia* suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Decius.

The effects of the Emperor Constantine's conversion to Christianity were of course speedily felt at the *Ælia Capitolina*; the city resumed its ancient name, but became from that time a Christian, or rather Romish Jerusalem. The Emperor's mother, Helena, founded churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives. The Emperor himself was present at the consecration of the church at Jerusalem, when Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, addressed the multitude. (A.D. 335.) Later writers speak of thirty churches built by the Empress Helena in different parts of the Holy Land; Jerusalem became again the metro-

polis of Christian piety, but also a stronghold of antichristian superstition.

The discovery of the holy sepulchre, and the real or pretended remains of the cross, opened a door to image worship, which soon clouded, like a swarm of locusts, the whole atmosphere of the Christian world, and hid from many eyes the beams of its sun.

When Julian the Apostate succeeded Constantine, Jerusalem was again brought into notice by a strange league formed between the Imperial heathen philosopher and the dispersed people of Judea, to belie, if possible, the fulfilment of the prophecies, by rebuilding the Temple. Authorized and encouraged by Julian, the Jews from all parts assembled at Jerusalem, and commenced the work of restoring their sanctuary; men, women, and children, in their festival garments, began the work, and with tools richly adorned, laboured at preparing the foundations, when, all at once, balls of subterranean fire burst from the spot, accompanied with an earthquake and hurricanes of wind, which compelled them to discontinue the work. Every hope of resuming it was soon crushed by the death of the Emperor Julian. (A.D. 410.) This

fact is related by Ammianus Marcellinus, a historian of the time, allowed by all to be an impartial writer; and Jost, one of the latest Jewish historians, though he tries to account for the event as a natural phenomenon, proves, by so doing, that the fact really did occur, and that it is impossible to deny it. After the death of Julian, the emperors who succeeded him were all, by profession, Christian. Under their rule, Jerusalem became the object of innumerable pilgrimages to Christians, Jews, and, in later times, Mahometans. This age of pilgrimages, which began 1500 years ago, is interesting to look back upon, especially as we may include in it the Crusades, which were, in fact, a kind of warlike pilgrimage. In those early times, also, an immense number of pilgrims, hermits, and monks established themselves at Jerusalem and in the neighbourhood; 11,000 of such inhabitants are said to have stationed themselves in cells and caves of the rock, near the brook Kedron. The adoration of relics increased so rapidly, and the disinterment of bones in the Holy Land was carried to such an absurd extent, that Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and even Jerome, were compelled to raise their voices against it.

During the reign of Justinian, in the sixth century, our attention is again drawn to the Jews at Jerusalem, who, with the Samaritans, raised a fearful rebellion, which was again crushed, after many difficulties and much loss of life. At this time, the city itself was prospering, and the riches and luxury of its inhabitants were displayed in its edifices.

(A.D. 614.) Under Heraclius, one of the successors of Justinian, Chosroes, King of Persia, who inherited the animosity which the Parthians had formerly exhibited towards the Roman Empire, appeared with a great army in Palestine. Jerusalem was soon taken by him, amidst the plaudits of the Jews, ever on friendly terms with the enemies of Rome and the Christians, of whom 90,000 are said to have been put to death. In the year 629 Heraclius retook the Holy City, carried back the cross to the church at Golgotha on his shoulders, and banished the Jews. Ere long, however, the clouds began to gather for a fresh tempest, which threatened to overwhelm both Jerusalem and the Christian Church. Mahomet, the false prophet of Arabia, was laying the foundation of his new religion, and propagating an imposture which yet retained enough of truth to cause his followers to look

at once with reverence and cupidity upon the spot which had held the temple of Solomon and the tomb of Issa (Jesus), and to call Jerusalem the noble, the blessed, and the holy city, the house of the sanctuary. Mahomet himself did not extend his conquests so far, but his successors made themselves masters of all Palestine, with its ancient capital.

In the year A.D. 636, the white banner of the false prophet floated over the walls of Jerusalem. For ten days the Caliph Omar had assaulted the town, which was defended by Artabanus, while the Patriarch Sophronius stirred up the Christian inhabitants to a bold resistance. By the treaty of capitulation, Christians were allowed to remain in the town, but subjected to humiliating conditions. Omar founded a mosque upon Mount Moriah, and even thought for a moment of making the city the capital of his caliphate; but he eventually returned to Medina, and Jerusalem remained, as before, the widowed city.

In the year 799, we find Charlemagne Emperor over Western Christendom, and Haroun-al-Raschid Caliph of Eastern Mahometanism. The Emperor sent, as ambassador to the Caliph, a Jew, of the name of Isaac, well known to the historians of his time, and

Al-Raschid delivered to Charlemagne the keys of the holy sepulchre. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem were undertaken from all parts of Europe ; and this city of all nations became known as far as China.

At the close of the first 1000 years after the Christian era, the relative situation of the Christian nations of Europe and the Mahometan powers of Asia was entirely changed. At this epoch, looked upon by many as the time of the end, the sceptre of the East was swayed by Hakim Beamrillah, the Nero of the Arabs ; who ferociously persecuted both Jews and Christians, leading the latter to believe that he was indeed the *Antichrist*.

About this time, a desire began to manifest itself throughout European Christendom to rescue the Holy City from the hands of the Infidels. Towards the close of the eleventh century, when the power of the Seldjukian Turks had succeeded to the expiring dominion of the two Caliphates, and their black banner waved over the City of Jerusalem, the first army of the Crusaders set forth for the Holy Land. The recital of all that the hermit Peter, and thousands of other pilgrims, had endured in the city of the holy sepulchre, related with zeal and indignation in all parts of Europe,

touched the hearts and roused the spirit of all Christendom.

The proposition of Urban II., in two great Councils held at Placentia and Clermont, was received with the cry, “It is the will of God ! It is the will of God !” An instant resolution was made, by great and small, princes, nobles, monks, freemen, and slaves, to bind the cross on their garments, and march to conquer the Holy City, and rescue the sacred tomb from the hands of the Infidels. Nine Crusades were undertaken, in the course of two centuries, against the Mahometans of Asia and Africa ; which were important in their results to the nations of the West, though their effects in the East were insignificant and transitory. We will not enter into a detailed account of the Crusades, but in imagination cast a glance at the majestic army which marched from Europe, in the year 1097, enrolling in its ranks the flower of the nobility of France, England, and Italy, and headed by the noble-hearted Godfrey de Bouillon, of whom it is recorded, that he refused to wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns.

The Crusades afford an instance of the empire which Jerusalem, though solitary and

widowed, maintained over the heart and feelings of the nations: and we shall do well to notice the results which that influence produced upon the Christian states of Europe, especially if we compare it with what was actually effected by them in the East. There, indeed, a few reminiscences, a few ruined buildings, are all that have survived!—while the effects produced by the Crusades, in every department of political and social life in Europe, have become matter of history. Among the attempts which characterize that age as a time of preparation for greater things, we may observe roads and canals made to facilitate mutual commercial intercourse between nations, an increased knowledge of geography and navigation, and a general *impulse* given, which urged men to fresh undertakings and more diligent investigations. The bonds of slavery were loosed, and citizens and yeomen rose to a state of influence and prosperity. Many heroic qualities were then displayed by the nobles, drawn forth by that spirit of chivalry which distinguished the age, and which, though not exclusively produced by the Crusades, was a fruit of Northern energy ripened beneath an Oriental sun.

The grand military orders, which especially

embody the spirit of the age, all took their rise during the Crusades, and were instituted in Palestine: hence their names, as the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Templars, &c. The heraldry of the European nobility, though perhaps a little anterior in its origin, was subjected to form and rule during the time of the Crusades. We may date from thence the frequent use of the *lion* and the *cross*; the one bringing to mind the ancient banner of Judah—the other a symbol of the Saviour's deepest humiliation, borne as a mark of honour.

We have mentioned, that just before the Crusades began, the black banner of the Seld-jukian Turks was raised over Jerusalem, but the Egyptian Fatimites retook the town a little before its siege by the Crusaders.

The first view of Jerusalem from the summit of that Mount of Olives from whence our Saviour had predicted the destruction of its city and temple, produced an effect upon the hardest and most hardened; all burst into tears. Even the beautiful poetry of Tasso must give place to Jacques de Vitry's touching account in prose "of the Christian Knight kneeling in an ecstasy of devotion at the sight of the city, princess of nations, hereditary

possession of the patriarchs, nurse of the prophets, mother of the faith, cradle of salvation, honoured by angels, visited by all nations, chosen and sanctified by the Saviour, because there he himself hath stood."

The Crusaders took the city the 11th of June, of the year 1097, and attempted to establish a kingdom of Jerusalem on its site. But such a kingdom, founded upon the principles of the feudal system, was not a plant "which the Lord had planted." In 1187 the Holy City fell again into the hands of the Mahometans, and a third crusade was undertaken to reconquer it from the Kurds under Soliman, brother of Malek Adhel; at the head of which were Philip Augustus of France, Richard Cœur de Lion of England, and Frederic Barbarossa. The result of the attempt was little answerable to the valour of its leaders. In the succeeding century, expectations were again raised by Frederic II., to be again disappointed. He sought the conquest of Jerusalem as a point of honour alone, and obtained it with great concessions on the side of the Christians. Afterwards the town was repeatedly captured and re-captured by Saracens and Christians, till the year 1243, when it fell finally into the hands of the Turks. European enthusiasm in

the cause had by that time so entirely evaporated, that Louis IX. of France refused a permission to visit the holy sepulchre; and two centuries after, Philip the Good of Burgundy found it impossible in any degree to revive a crusading spirit, though Constantinople itself was threatened by the Turks.

The empty title of "King of Jerusalem" remained with the Crown of Sicily, and has passed in succession by marriage to the kingdoms of Austria and Sardinia. But the children of the kingdom—the Jews,—what had become of them? The Crusaders usually commenced their expeditions to the Holy Land with a general massacre of the Jews; and when they took Jerusalem, the Israelites residing in it became a chief object of murder and pillage.

Jerusalem, under the Turks, continued accessible both to Jews and Christians, though the attempt to visit it was not always a safe one.

In 1516, Jerusalem was once more retaken by its ancient masters the Ottomans, under Selim I., and from that time it has formed a part of the pachalic of Damascus.

Between 1649 and 1666, A.D., a false Christ appeared for a short time at Jerusalem, and

drew together a large body of followers; but Sabbataí Sevi himself dispelled the illusion, by embracing Islamism, shortly after which he was put to death.

As lately as during the eighteenth century, secret chapters were held at Jerusalem, and several European noblemen created Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. The close of the same century beheld Napoleon passing by Jerusalem without approaching it, in his expedition from Egypt into Syria.

The nineteenth century presents us with a fresh series of travellers in the East, and visitors to Jerusalem. Since Chateaubriand, in 1806, performed a pilgrimage to the banks of the Jordan in the style of a knight-errant, hundreds of wanderers have followed in his steps, and have echoed the sentiments which he noted down in his journal:—"At the first sight of Jerusalem, every reminiscence of its history seemed to pass in review before me, from the time of Abraham to that of Godfrey de Bouillon; the site of the temple lay before me, but not one stone was left upon another." Truly imposing is the aspect which the city now presents! Its buildings, its ruins, and its memorials, connected with so many people, periods, and hallowed associations! The

mosque of Omar now stands where once was raised the temple of Solomon. David's tomb remains, beside a convent of Minorites. The site of Herod's Palace and the traditional abode of Pontius Pilate are still pointed out, while we must not entirely overlook the residence of the Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, and the English Church, in which its own services are read in the Hebrew tongue. The Mahometans, Christians, and Jews have each their separate quarter; here, as elsewhere, the most despised and miserable belongs to the Jews. Yes! even in the city of their kings, the children of the kingdom are cast into outer darkness. But it will not be always thus. Hear, O Israel, the words of your Prophet, and lay to heart, O Christians, the declaration of your Lord! "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." (Luke xxi. 24.)

- 1 For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace,
Because of Jerusalem I will not rest,
Until her righteousness come forth with brightness,
And her salvation, as a light that burneth.
- 2 And the nations shall see thy righteousness,
And all kings thy glory.
A new name is given to thee,
The mouth of Jehovah hath proclaimed it.

- 3 And thou shalt be a crown of beauty in the hand
of Jehovah,
And a royal diadem in the hand of thy God.
- 4 Thou shalt no more be spoken of as *a forsaken one*,
And thy land shall no more be spoken of as *a desolation*;
But thou shalt be called *My delight is in her*,
And thy land *Married*.
For Jehovah delighteth in thee, and thy land
shall be married.
- 5 As a young man marrieth a virgin,
Shall thy builder-up marry thee.
And with the rejoicing of a bridegroom over his
bride,
Shall thy God rejoice over thee.
- 6 I have set a watchman upon thy walls, O Jeru-
salem !
All day and all night continuously they shall not
hold their peace.
O remembrancers of Jehovah, let there be no rest
to you,
- 7 And give no rest to Him,
Until he raise up, and make Jerusalem a praise
in the land.
- 8 Jehovah hath sworn by his right hand,
And by the arm of his strength,
I will no more make thy corn food for thine
enemies.
And the sons of the strangers shall no more drink
thy new wine, for which thou hast laboured.
- 9 But those that reaped it shall eat it, and praise
Jehovah.

And those that have laid it up shall drink it in
the courts of my sanctuary.

- 10 Pass—pass through the gates !
Prepare the way for the people !
Raise up, raise up the highway !
Make it free from stones.
Set a banner on high above the nations !
- 11 Behold ! Jehovah hath proclaimed it to the ends
of the earth.
Say to the daughter of Zion, Behold thy salvation
cometh !
Behold his reward is with him !
His work before him !
- 12 And they shall call thee the holy people ;
The redeemed of Jehovah.
And thou shalt be called *she that is sought for,*
A city not forsaken.

Isaiah lxii.

BOOK II.

INTRODUCTION.

THE fall of Jerusalem and the dispersion of her people was now complete, manifesting an awful accomplishment of the words of the apostle, "Behold the severity of God upon them which fell." (Rom. xi. 22.) The full weight of judgment brought upon the chosen people was felt even in the light in which the death-struggles of Judea with Romē were viewed by succeeding generations. The desperate resistance of Carthage and Numantia, and their ineffectual attempts against the same Rome, the oppressor of the world, have ever met with sympathy and applause. Not so Jerusalem, and the Jewish nation! A few partial commendations have been bestowed by men conversant with the art of war, upon the defence of Jerusalem and many of the Jewish fortresses,* which were carried on with admir.

* "The siege of Massada by the Romans (says the Chevalier Folard, in the Appendix to Calmet's

able skill and bravery. History is compelled, with apparent unwillingness, to bear testimony to the bold resistance made by the Jews to the dominion of Rome;* and this forced homage is soon lost sight of, amid the hatred felt by all for the unhappy remnant of the conquered people. Who among Christians even, before our days, has not preferred to take from his Josephus a fresh stone to cast at the deeply humbled nation, rather than to extract anything from its pages which might prove

Dictionary, Commentary on Polybius, *Attaque et Défense des Places*, iii. 63), is one of the most remarkable ever recorded in history. The strength and advantageous situation of the place, the courage and vigorous resistance of the besieged, the valour and skill of the Roman General, all combined in causing an erection of works, and a display of skill, of which we meet with few examples in ancient history. Even in modern times, the most memorable sieges since the fourteenth century have afforded nothing to equal it. . . . The defence of Jerusalem and that of Jotapata are still more worthy of admiration; indeed, in point of military works nothing was ever produced to surpass them. It was a masterpiece of Roman patience and intelligence, while the skill and courage of the Jews were not less to be admired. They fought as men in despair; but they put in practice every resource of genius and art, to sell their lives with glory and at the dearest price."

* Tacit. Hist. v. 10. "Augebat iras quod soli Judæi non cessissent."

the Jewish nation to be in any degree worthy of admiration? It is as if a stigma, like the line of bastardy in heraldry, was drawn through everything belonging to Israel that could excite either interest or sympathy. In this was manifest the severity of God towards a nation fallen on account of their sins; and this sin against God remained, although, looking upon them as man with man, we must acknowledge their heroism, and even the justice of their cause. Thus does the injustice of man often put in execution the just decrees of God.

And yet, without metropolis, without temple, without country, the Jewish people continued a nation, after all the events we have related. This wonderful dispensation was in itself a part of God's dealings with them, though destined in time to come to produce a quite different result. We will now observe the means employed by the providence of God to effect the *national* preservation of Israel, up to the present time.

Even under the tyrannical reign of Adrian the Jews steadily observed the rite of circumcision. As disciples of Moses, and children of the prophets and sacred writers, they at all times and in all places carried with them their

Scriptures in the original language, handing them down from generation to generation. They tried to make amends to themselves for the loss of their city and temple in various ways ; and manifested afresh their remarkable perseverance of character and ingenuity of mind by the measures they took to form a completely new centre of nationality.

Directly after the triumph of Titus, the great council of the Israelitish Rabbins was established at Tiberias, in Galilee. The school of Scribes, instituted in that city, soon took the place of that Temple whose restoration has never ceased to be the object of their hopes and prayers. The celebrated revolt of Bar Cochebas and Akiba sprung, in great measure, from thence. Tiberias had become a kind of Jerusalem, where, instead of a building of wood and stone, workmen were employed in constructing another edifice, which has now endured for many centuries. This was the Mishna, and eventually the Talmud ; the so-called *Oral Law* reduced to writing, arranged, commented upon, and explained ; which became in the course of a few centuries a complete Digest, or Encyclopædia, of the law, the religion and the nationality of the Jews. We behold in the Mishna and Gemara a painful yet wonderful

phenomenon. The very “traditions of the elders,” against which our Saviour when on earth constantly raised his voice—the traditions which for some hundred years had nullified the Word of God, disguised the Law and the Prophets, and cast a veil over the predictions which were fulfilled in Jesus Christ—these same traditions were built up into an impenetrable wall, behind which the Israelite should continue with systematic obstinacy to shut himself out from belief in his King and Saviour.

The Oral Law contained all the precepts which (according to the legends of the Rabbins) Moses received from the Lord, during the forty days he remained on the Mount, which were transmitted by Moses to Joshua, and thus handed down from generation to generation. This *Oral Law* (against the very nature of its aim and destination, as the Jews themselves acknowledge) was committed to writing after the fall of Jerusalem. The first idea of such an undertaking is thought by many to have originated with the Rabbi Akiba, but universal tradition attributes both the plan and its accomplishment to Rabbi Judah the Holy (*Hakkadosh*), often called, for distinction's sake, *the Rabbi*. Born in the

days of Adrian, a period so unpropitious to his countrymen, he held in Palestine the dignity of Nasi (or prince), that is to say, spiritual head of the synagogues in that country. About the year A.D. 190, he completed a collection of all the oral or traditional commandments, called the *Mishna*, or *Second Law*, and arranged them in the form of six treatises. The later Rabbins have exhausted their ingenuity in making commentaries upon, and additions to, this work. The whole collection of these commentaries is named *Gemara* (*completeness*). With the *Mishna*, its text book, it forms the *Talmuds*; of these the *Jerusalem Talmud* is the prior in date, having been completed towards the end of the third century in Palestine; while the *Babylonian Talmud*, compiled in the schools of Babylon and Persia, takes its date from the year 500.

In the new form which it had now assumed, tradition became more than ever the veil that hides from Israel the simple meaning of the Old Testament. From its very beginning it had been raised to an equality with, and even above, the written Word of God. Expressions are not wanting to denote, in the metaphorical language of the Rabbins, this fancied superiority. "Holy Scripture," says a Rabbinical

adage, "may be compared to fresh water, but the Mishna is wine, and the Gemara refined wine." Thus the religion of the modern Jews became, in its very essence, pharisaical. The Sadducees, at least as a separate and numerous sect, disappeared soon after the ruin of Jerusalem. The few who remained, and the Karaites, a later sect, who recognise the authority of Scripture alone, independent of all traditional interpretation, have never succeeded in displacing the system of Phariseeism, which has been acknowledged by both Jew and Christian to be the only modern Judaism really in existence. The Talmud became, in the opinion of the dispersed Jews, as inseparable a part of their religion as the Church of Rome and the Pope are, in the eyes of Roman Catholics, of the Christian faith. Romanism and Rabbinism are, in this and many other points, very nearly connected.

Still Christians will not find these Talmuds entirely useless and unworthy of notice. As presenting a faithful transcript of the Jewish mind in the first centuries of Christianity, and as documents containing innumerable details which throw light upon the manners, customs, antiquities, and social relations of the Jews, the Talmud is a most curious monument,

raised with astonishing labour, yet made up of puerilities. Like the present position of the Jew, away from his country, far from his Messiah, and in disobedience to his God, the Talmud itself is a chaos, in which the most opposite elements are found in juxtaposition. It is a book which seems in some parts entirely devoid of common sense, and in others filled with deep meaning, abounding with absurd subtleties and legal *finesse*, full of foolish tales, and wild imaginations; but also containing aphorisms and parables, which, except in their lack of the simple and sublime character of Holy Writ, resemble in a degree the parables and sentences of the New Testament.

The Talmud is an immense heap of rubbish, at the bottom of which a few bright pearls of Eastern wisdom are to be found. No book has ever expressed more faithfully the spirit of its authors. This we notice the more, when comparing the Talmud with the Bible;—the Bible, that Book of books, given *to*, and *by* means of the Israel of God;—the Talmud, the book composed by Israel *without* their God, in the time of their dispersion, their misery, and their degeneracy. The Talmud is not the only national work of which the Jews, during their present captivity, can boast; from the

very first we find ranked with it two other works of tradition — the “Masorah,” and “Cabbala.”

The Masorah is well known, on account of the great service it has rendered in the preservation and critical knowledge of the Old Testament, by its vowels, accents, and notes. This is not the less valuable, even though its authors have also bestowed much useless labour upon numbering each verse, each word, and even each letter of the Bible; and have derived many wild and absurd meanings from the insertion of a larger or smaller letter in the text, or a greater or less space between the chapters.

The science of the Cabbala is a species of Oriental “*Theosophy*,” by which all kinds of mystical fancies and even magical powers were deduced from the words, letters, and numbers of Scripture: it is composed of a mass of futilities, through which, however, shine some rays of bright Scriptural and even Evangelical light.

The sons of Israel then, entered upon the many centuries of their dispersion, armed with this triple panoply of tradition, and by its means preserved their nationality through the time of their deepest humiliation and misery.

The dispersed Jews, even before the fall of Jerusalem, had classed themselves under three different designations. The Rabbins understand by the "Captivity of the East," the remains of the ten tribes; by that "of Egypt," the Jews under the dominion of the Ptolemies, particularly those of Alexandria; by that "of the West," the Jews dispersed over every part of the Roman Empire.

In the sketch we shall give, we need only a twofold division. With the history of the dispersion and fate of Israel in the East, and in the West, in Asia, and in Europe, are connected the annals of the wandering and suffering Jews in all parts of the world. Both in the East and West, but especially in Europe, their history records little else than a continuation of misery, humiliation, and degeneracy. Yet we must not imagine that the Jews fell at once into this condition. History shows us that the judgment of God upon great cities, condemned on account of their sins, advances upon them slowly and by degrees, till the time of its complete accomplishment. It has been the same with the prophecies against rebellious and unbelieving Israel. Because of their sins, (as they themselves confess at great length in their daily

prayers, only omitting the greatest of all sins—their rejection of the Saviour) judgment has come upon them gradually, waxing stronger and stronger, and fulfilling more and more exactly to the letter the prophecies of the Lord.

In the Roman Empire, after the reign of Vespasian and Adrian, the position of the Jews was not only tolerable, but in many respects prosperous. Until the time of Constantine's reign and conversion, we find them in general honoured and distinguished, rather than despised or oppressed. They are often noticed as having obtained considerable influence over the people, and at the court; which they made use of to the disadvantage of Christianity, equally an object of hatred to the Jew and the Roman. The Emperor Caracalla's favourite was a Jew—Alexander Severus; the Emperor, who erected a temple in honour of all deities and heroes, including both Abraham and Jesus Christ, added to his titles that of "Ruler of the Synagogue." The Emperor Decius, when enacting a bloody edict against the Christians, commanded the Roman proconsuls and pontifices to spare the Jewish synagogues. It is said that the persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Valentinian originated in the influence exercised by an Egyptian Ruler

of the Synagogue. Be this as it may, after the days of Titus, Trajan, and Adrian, the feelings of the Gentiles, especially of their philosophers, were entirely changed with regard to the Jews. Moses and the Law were appreciated and honoured, amid a system of Paganism, which could not maintain its ground without a struggle in the minds of such men as Plotinus, Porphyry, and Jamblichus. On their side, also, many of the Jews had long ceased to object to the alliance, and even the intermixture of their sacred writings, with the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato, the poetry of Homer, and the traditions of Herodotus.

We shall not, then, be surprised to find the Rabbins speaking of this period with some satisfaction, and applying to it the passage of Daniel, "Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help."* Nor is it to be wondered at, that the Jews should look on with a kind of triumph, and in their hatred to Christianity behold with joy the disciples of Jesus compelled to assemble in the catacombs, while their synagogues existed and flourished in every part of the territory of Edom, and their schools at Jamnia and Tiberias increased

* Dan. xi. 34.

in authority and power, under the acknowledged rule of a patriarch of the nation.

A complete reverse took place, when the Emperor of Rome knelt before the Cross, and the Empire became a Christian state. From this epoch we may date the *first* period of humiliation, during which the Jews were visibly sinking into a state of continually progressive oppression and misery. The second marked period in their state of moral and political degradation extends from the commencement of the middle ages to the death of Charlemagne, and the incursions of the Normans in Europe. This period, which closes with the discovery of America, the reign of Charles V., and the Reformation, was for the Jews over the whole world, with the single exception of those in Spain and Portugal, a time of the deepest misery, oppression, and decay. Thus the period of cruel oppression of the Jews in the West began with the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, just as in the East, three centuries later, it may be dated from the rise and triumph of the Mahometan power. The combination of events is striking. From the midst of that very Jerusalem, which the iron arm of Rome had crushed, arose the Gospel, whose spiritual

weapons should in a few years gain the victory over Rome.

A poet of that period complains of the great influence possessed by the conquered Jews over their Roman conquerors.* In a higher sense than he imagined, this was indeed the case, for *the Gospel, which sprung from the Jews*, had gained possession of the heights and strongholds of Rome. From that moment, however, an entire change took place in the relation subsisting between the Roman Empire and people; i.e., the Christians and the Jews, enemies of the Gospel.

At the fall of Jerusalem, and the disappearance of Israel as inhabitants of the land of their fathers, the last link was broken which bound the Christian Church to the people from whom it sprung. The Jewish Christians became an insignificant sect, or were merged in the Church of the Gentiles, whose "*times had begun.*" From that epoch we find Judaism directly and decidedly opposed to Christianity and its professors; and a great share was taken by Jews in the persecutions of the Christians by Pagan Rome. We may give as an instance the martyrdom of the venerable Polycarp, in the time of the Emperor Marcus

* *Victoresque suos natio victa premit.—Rutilius.*

Aurelius. Their position, as we have already said, changed entirely after the conversion of Constantine. The Jews then became a condemned and persecuted sect. The equality of rights to which they had been admitted under the pagan emperors was by degrees restricted, their admission to civil and military dignities first limited to the more onerous posts, and at length entirely forbidden. A gleam of hope shone upon them in the days of Julian the Apostate, but they were only the more ill-treated under his Christian successors. Till the reign of Theodosius, in the fourth century, however, their position in the Empire was such as could well be borne. In the Code of Theodosius II. their patriarchs and rulers of the synagogue are made honourable mention of, and entitled "*Viri spectatissimi illustres, clarissimi.*" Entire liberty and protection was granted them in the observance of their ceremonies, their feasts, and their Sabbaths. Their synagogues were protected by law against the fanatics, who, in some parts of Asia and Italy, attacked and set them on fire. Throughout the Empire, the property of the Jews, their slaves, and their lands, were secured to them; only the Christians were exhorted to hold no intercourse with the unbelieving people, and

to beware of the doctrines of the synagogue. The laws, however, could not prevent the zeal of several bishops from stirring up and encouraging the hatred of the populace against the Jews. Even Ambrose imputed as a crime to the Emperor Theodosius that he had sentenced some Asiatic bishops and monks to rebuild, at their own expense, a synagogue which they had demolished!

The fifth century proved yet more disastrous to the Jews. The Roman Empire had, from the year 395, been divided into the Eastern, or Greek Empire, of which Constantinople was the capital ; and the Western Empire, of which Rome and Italy still formed the centre. In both these divisions the position and treatment of the Jews became worse and worse. The guides of the Christian Church, and still more the common people, retained but a faint impression of the Gospel-promise to Israel, of their national conversion in the latter days ; at least, they had entirely forgotten the expression joined to that promise, "*beloved for the fathers' sake.*" * The Fathers of the Church, such as Augustine, Chrysostom, and Jerome, in their application of the Old Testament to the case of the Jews, confined themselves to

* Rom. xi. 28.

its threatenings, even though the Romish Church down to the present day offers special prayer for their conversion.

In the time, however, of the Fathers whom we have mentioned, great attention was still paid to the ancient language of Israel, and more than one learned ecclesiastic had recourse to a Jewish Rabbi as his instructor.

In the West, even under Honorius, its first Emperor, oppressive laws began to be put in force against the Jews. During this century, Church history boasts of the conversion of a great number of Jews in the islands of Minorca and Candia. In the year 471, the downfall of the old Roman Empire in the West soon brought the Jews into contact with the people of the North, who had already begun to overrun Southern Europe, to renew its population, and to form new states, destined to continue for many successive centuries.

In the East, that is to say, in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, soon after called the Empire of Greece, or Byzantium, the position of the Jews became particularly unfavourable. The honours paid by Arcadius (in the fifth century) to the holy men of the Old Testament, conferred little benefit on their natural descendants. The Emperor trans-

ported what were considered to be the remains of the Prophet Samuel from Judea to Thrace. A multitude, both of Jews and Christians, joined the festive procession, and when the golden urn containing the ashes was carried through the Jewish quarter at Constantinople, there also the houses were adorned with flowers and garlands. Judaism, however, continued at this very time to be detested, especially because of the influence which the synagogue was reputed to have had upon Nestorius and his heresy.

The Government of the Emperor Justin, and Code of Justinian, soon permanently fixed the social relations of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire. Justin (A.D. 523) excluded all Jews, Samaritans, and Pagans, from holding any office or dignity in the State. In the reign of Justinian, the enactments against the Jews were confirmed, and made more onerous. The Emperor, laying it down as a principle that civil rights could only belong to those who professed the orthodox faith, entirely excluded the Jews in his Code (codex) and his edicts (novellee). Anything which could in the least interfere with the festivals of the Christian Church was strictly forbidden them, all discussion with Christians looked upon as

a crime, and proselytism punished with death. Even their right of holding property was restricted in many ways, especially in the matter of wills. The Emperor declared himself with especial severity against the traditions and precepts of the Talmud.

No wonder, then, that during the reign of Justinian many rebellions broke out among his Jewish subjects,—the dying throes, as it were, of their national existence. Already, in 530, a false Messiah, named Julianus, arose, who was beheaded a year or two after, and his followers dispersed. Some years later, in 555, a terrible insurrection of the Jews and Samaritans broke out at Cesarea; but such severe penalties were inflicted as to render a repetition of it almost impossible. Once more only, during the reign of Justinian, a fearful commotion was caused at Constantinople by the sight of the sacred vessels, spoils from the Temple at Jerusalem, which, having been carried to Rome by Titus, were removed into Africa when Rome was stormed by Genseric, and finally brought by Belisarius (A. D. 535), to the capital of the Greek Empire. So violent was the outbreak of feeling on this occasion, that the Emperor was obliged to send the holy vessels from Constantinople to Jerusalem;

since which time all trace of these relics has been lost.

From the reign of Justinian, the position of the Jews in the Greek Empire became such as to prevent their possessing any degree of political importance. Yet their theological and masoretic studies were still carried on with diligence in the country of their fathers, (which, together with Syria, was included in this portion of the empire,) and in the city of Tiberias, from which the Mishna had formerly been propagated. But even there the last surviving gleam of their ancient glory was soon extinguished. From the year 429, the dignity of patriarch ceased to exist, and thus the link was broken which connected the different synagogues of the Eastern Empire. Many Jews, devoted to the study of the Talmud, quitted Palestine and the Byzantine Empire to seek refuge in Persia and Babylonia, where more favour was shown to the Israelite. When, many centuries after, (A.D. 1455,) Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, some of the Jewish exiles from Spain and Portugal took refuge in the ancient capital of the Eastern Empire, where the number of their descendants is now considerable.

In the far East, beyond the boundaries of the Grecian Empire, the Jews continued in a, comparatively speaking, prosperous condition, until the triumph of the Koran was complete. One consequence of the emigration of learned Rabbins and youthful students from the Holy Land to the schools of Babylon and Persia, which took place in the fifth century, was, that revision and extension of the Gemara which bears the name of the Babylonian Talmud (A.D. 500).

The proper title of the Patriarch of Babylon was Resh-Glutha, prince, or chief of the captivity. We find indications of the existence of such a title as early as the second century. The office of Resh-Glutha was at first rather that of a civil governor than an ecclesiastical superior; for his situation placed him in a position to mediate between the heads of the synagogue and the Persian or Parthian kings. The dignity itself took its rise while the Parthians reigned in Persia; but it continued under the new dynasty of the Sassanides, and only came to an end many years later, under the dominion of the caliphs. The position implied something of worldly state, resembling that of a Viceroy, who had under him the Rabbins of the different syna-

gogues, like dependent satraps. When the Babylonian Talmud was completed, those who held this dignity were no longer connected with any religious office, and were often possessed with a more or less hostile feeling towards theologians. The office was purchased for a certain sum of money from the kings of Persia, and subsequently from the Mahometan caliphs, though tradition relates, that it long remained in a family sprung from the house of David. The dignity of Resh-Glutha ceased entirely towards the middle of the eleventh century, in the person of Hizkiah, slain by the redoubted caliph, Beamrillah. A shadow of the office seems to have remained in the East in the twelfth century; and in Spain, among many other hereditary reminiscences of the Babylonian Jews, we find in the middle ages the "Prince of the Captivity" bearing the title of "Rabbino-Mayor."

The great mass of the Jewish population in Persia and Babylon had, no doubt, remained there from the time of their removal by Nebuchadnezzar. We have noticed, in a former part of the book, how large a portion of the Jews neglected to avail themselves of the permission granted by Cyrus to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild the Temple. We

see also by the Book of Esther, that in the reign of Ahasuerus they were both numerous and powerful. Several fresh colonies joined them even before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and many more after that epoch.

We have also noticed before, that a common hatred of the dominion of Rome naturally led to a warm fellow-feeling between the Jews and the kingdom of Parthia, which, in the year A.D. 230, made way for a new or second Persian kingdom, when Artaxerxes, a Persian descendant of Sassan, (from whom the dynasty of the Sassanides took its name,) made himself master of the throne of the Parthian Arsacidæ. This Artaxerxes (Ardscher Babegan), famed in Roman history on account of the war carried on in Asia between him and Alexander Severus, was the father of Sapor (Schabur), a still more deadly enemy of the Roman name. Both these princes are mentioned as having been friends and favourers of the Jews in their dominions. Three centuries later, Chosroes I., surnamed the Great, in the fifth year of the reign of Justinian (A.D. 531), encouraged by joint promises of assistance from the Jews and Samaritans, declared war against the Byzantine Empire. Their hopes were, however, for the present, crushed, by a

brilliant victory gained by the Romans. Chosroes II., grandson of the former, made war against Heraclius with better success. The result of this campaign, in which his army was reinforced by a body of 25,000 Jews, was the capture of Jerusalem (A.D. 625); which was, however, retaken by Heraclius four years later. From that time we find no more mention of the Jews in connexion with the military exploits of the Parthians. When this kingdom also fell, in process of time, into the hands of the caliphs, the Jews met by turns with good and ill treatment from their new rulers. The Abassides generally looked with favour upon the learned men of the Jewish nation. The physician of the Caliph Almawjor, for instance, was a Jew. Less fortunate under his successors, the Jews were again protected and raised in position by Haroun-al-Raschid, the noble contemporary of Charlemagne, in the eighth century. After his time, they had much to suffer from the vexatious imposition of taxes and fines. The downfall of the caliphs brought no favourable change to the Jews; their troubles, on the contrary, were so greatly increased, that the celebrated schools at Pumbeditha and Sora at length entirely disappeared, and the succession

of their learned men was continued henceforth in Spain. Thus the rise of the Mahometan power in Asia gave the signal that the time for their greatest oppression and degradation in the East also was arrived.

The Peninsula of Arabia, of which the northern part (Arabia Petrea) is associated in the Bible with the wanderings of the Israelites, has gained since the seventh century universal celebrity. From the midst of that country, the descendants of Ishmael rushed in every direction over the then known and civilized world, to pursue their fanatical conquests. In the regions of Arabia, Israelites also had dwelt from time immemorial, and they continued numerous and powerful until the rise of Mahomet, and the propagation of his doctrines. Before Mahomet's time, the Arabs had always remained a people apart, whom even Alexander and the Romans had passed by, or attacked in skirmishes only. They were divided into two great branches; the Bedouins of the desert, who assert their special claim to be the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, and the inhabitants of the cities, who had for ages been engaged in commerce, conveying their merchandise in caravans from India and

Persia to the westernmost extremity of Asia. When Mahomet first appeared, the population of the Peninsula consisted of Jews, Christians, worshippers of the sun after the manner of the Persians, and a sect professing Ishmaelitism, a corrupt and degenerate offset of the religion of Abraham.

The Jewish inhabitants of Arabia date their establishment in the country, according to some, from the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. In the history of the Peninsula, before the time of Mahomet, we find them spoken of as numerous, free, and powerful, holding castles and fortresses, and forming, consequently, a marked feature in the Arabian population. History even mentions, with certainty as to the fact, though with great obscurity as to the details, the existence in Arabia of a Jewish kingdom under Jewish kings. About 150 years before the Christian era, we find mention made of Abu Caab Asaad, a Jew either by birth or religion, as a contemporary of John Hyrcanus at Jerusalem. He is reckoned as the thirty-third king of the Joktanides, called in Yemen, Sabeers, or Homentes.

It is a fact, incontestably proved, that in much later times Jewish kings have reigned

in Arabia. The last king of Yemen, Du-naan, or Dhu-Nowas, in the sixth century, was a Jew.

When Mahomet made his appearance, at first only as a poet and reformer, he found the Arabian Jews in general favourably disposed towards him. Some of these tribes, Jews both by religion and birth, as, for example, the Kazrady, Al Aws, Koreidha, and Al Nadir, who all trace their origin to Harun Ibn Amram (Aaron, the son of Amram), ranged themselves on his side, and he bestowed upon them the name of "Auxiliaries." He even modified some of his precepts out of consideration for the Jews of Medina. They soon ceased, however, to look upon him as a prophet sent from God, because he did not preserve all the institutions of Moses, and was not descended from the house of David. If this be true, it would seem to prove that the Jews in that country had thought for a moment that Mahomet might possibly be the Messiah. From that time (624), war broke out between Mahomet and his adherents and the Jewish tribes of Arabia. The clan of the Beni-Keinouka was besieged in a fortress near Medina, and overcome by the warrior-prophet. The same fate awaited the other tribes, one after the

other; the conqueror slew the men by hundreds, and took the women and children for a spoil. His last campaign against the Jews ended more happily for the cause than for the person of the Prophet. Among the strongholds of the Jews of Cheibar, which fell after a stout resistance, the Castle Kamress was bravely defended by an Israelitish Chief, named Marhaba, of colossal stature and distinguished valour, who fell in single combat with a Mussulman of rank. When, at the taking of this castle, his niece Zeinah became the prisoner of Mahomet, she avenged the death of her relation and her people by administering to him a slow poison, which so undermined his constitution that he died of its effects a few years after, A.D. 632.

From the moment that the Jews declared themselves against Mahomet, they became the especial objects of his hatred. In his wrath he bestowed on them the appellations of "unbelievers," "murderers of the prophets," "cursed of God," "falsifiers of revelation," and as such he treated them. Though from that time no actual persecution was carried on, a feeling of enmity has ever existed between the Mussulman and the Jew. In certain exceptional cases, indeed, Mahometan

princes have at times granted them protection, and even favour,—nay, we find in the thirteenth century a Jewish Grand Vizier at Bagdad, named Saddeddulat. But popular hatred and contempt has ever been the portion of Israel under the crescent as well as the cross: as in Christian Europe, so in Mahometan Asia and Africa, the Jew was compelled to bear a distinctive mark in his garments—*here* the yellow hat, *there* the black turban.

And yet Mahometanism itself was derived from the Old Testament, and was still more closely connected with modern Judaism! To be descended from Abraham was reckoned a high honour, alike by the Arabians, by Mahomet himself, and by the Saracen Mussulmans; and this they possessed in common with the sons of Israel. The Jewish prophets (including therein especially Jesus, or Issah) were reckoned by the followers of Mahomet as holy men; Jerusalem was entitled El Kods, a holy city,—Sinai, a holy mountain; and they look upon the valley of Jehoshaphat as the spot where Jesus, the Judge of the nations, with Mahomet at his side, will judge the world, seated upon a stone, which the Mahometan points out to the traveller. But a still closer connexion with the Talmud and

the Jewish traditions has been of late found to exist in the Koran. It has long been matter of difficulty to reconcile the undoubted marks of a biblical influence in the composition of the Koran, with its author's palpable ignorance of the real contents of the Bible. The kind of half-knowledge it manifests, both of men and facts in the Old Testament, and of our Saviour's life in the New, has been attributed to a supposed intimacy of Mahomet with the historians. New light, however, has been thrown upon the subject, since attention has been drawn to a person who is entitled to a distinguished place in the biography of the founder of Islamism. Warakha Ibn Naufal was nearly related to Kadisha, the first wife of Mahomet. An Ishmaelite by birth, but disgusted with the idolatry of his nation and contemporaries, he sought for a purer faith,—*first* in the bosom of Pharisaical Judaism, and *later*, in the deeply degenerate Christianity of the East.

At last he attached himself to Mahomet, and soon obtained considerable influence over the Prophet of Mecca and his doctrines. It is more than probable, that by Warakha Ibn Naufal's acquaintance with the holy writings of

both the Jews and Christians, and also with the Rabbinical traditions, many circumstances were brought to the knowledge of Mahomet which subsequently found their way, with more or less adulteration, into the Koran. At least the biblical legends of this singular book are also to be met with in the Talmud and other ancient writings of the Jews. The Koran may be looked upon, in some respects, as a kind of "*military Mishna*."

We will once more take a glance at the Jews in Asia, after its conquest by Mahomet, and specially in Arabia, the birth-place of his new religion. There, too, since the time of Mahomet, their condition grew worse and worse. In other parts, they dwelt more scattered ; but in Southern Arabia, especially in Yemen, they were more closely drawn together, and separated from the rest of the population. In the mountainous country of Cheibar, to the north-east of Medina, travellers have related, that there still exist three different tribes of Jews, so detested by the Mahometans, that "Beni Cheiba" is, with them, a term of reproach. Because these Jews (from dwelling in the desert), have little or no communication with their countrymen, they

have been thought by some to be Karaites. At Aden, on the coast, the Jewish population is at the present time very numerous.*

Beyond the boundaries of either the old Roman or the Byzantine Empire, Jews have, in early times, been met with, both in the most remote parts of the interior of Asia, and upon the coast of Malabar. The annals of these latter seem to trace back their arrival in the country to the time of the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus. Others explain these records as referring rather to the arrival of a Jewish colony in the fifth century, in consequence of a persecution raised in Persia. The title of these documents given to the leaders of the colony confirms the later date. He was called "Rabbana," Joseph; and this form of the title of "master" among the Jews takes its date from that very epoch. Although in their features and colour these Indian Jews exactly resemble the other inhabitants of the country, still, their customs, their prayers, and their observance of the rules of the Talmud, give evident tokens of their origin and religion. Towards the close of the seventeenth century,

* The Jews of Aden were visited in 1843 by Dr. Wilson. (See "Lands of the Bible," vol. i., p. 16.) Their numbers then amounted to 1,070.

the Jews of Cochin held some correspondence with the Portuguese Synagogue at Amsterdam, and information was given of a series of Jewish kings who had successively reigned in the country; by which, however, in all probability were only meant a sort of governors, possessing their own jurisdiction and laws. It appears beyond a doubt that the Jews there have enjoyed extraordinary prosperity, and have had cities and strongholds in their possession. Some English authorities in recent times have mentioned yet another race of Jews in India, in the neighbourhood of the Mah-rattas. They call themselves Beni-Israel, but acknowledge no relationship with the Jews of Malabar, Persia, or Arabia. The Israelitish features of their countenance (we are assured) distinguish them completely from the Mahometans and Hindoos. They invoke the name of Jehovah, practise circumcision on the eighth day, and observe the feasts and fasts, especially the great Day of Atonement. They do not possess the prophetical Scriptures, nor are they acquainted with the history of their own nation since the time of the Babylonish captivity, so that they neither observe the Feast of Purim, nor keep up any remembrance of the destruction of the Second Temple. They

are accused of occasionally mingling Indian superstitions and idolatries with the worship of the God of their fathers, but at the same time they bear a high character for their industry, activity, and military talent. They rarely serve in the native infantry without attaining the rank of officers.

At Bombay, too, there are more than 5,000 Jews, chiefly occupied in agriculture and the manufacture of oil, while those who live in the city are employed as masons and carpenters. They use the Liturgy of the Sephardim, which they have received from their neighbours, but possess no manuscript of the law. Their entire rejection of the appellation of Yehudi, or Jew, together with other circumstances noted by Dr. Wilson in his visit to Bombay, lead him to the conclusion, that the Beni-Israel of Bombay were originally descended from the captivity of the ten tribes.

In the far-distant regions of China, the Jewish population has long existed. The first discovery of this colony was made by the Jesuits, in 1642, who met with Jews at Pekin, Nanking, and particularly at Kue-fung-foo, the capital of the province of Ho-nun. Later missionaries of the same Society, sent out in

1720, better acquainted with the Hebrew tongue, confirmed the details which had before been given. Learned men in France, among whom we may mention the Orientalist, De Sacy, gave their attention to the subject, and made it matter of research and examination. Thus the following conclusions have been established. Between the time of Ezra and the destruction of the Second Temple, Jews from Persia emigrated to China, and established themselves in five of the principal cities of that vast empire. This is confirmed by the fact, that the Chinese Jews are well acquainted with Ezra, whom they regard with almost as much veneration as Moses, while they appear to be quite ignorant of the pharisaical traditions of the Talmud. Their Persian origin (probably by way of Chorazan and Samarcand) is attested by the mixture of Persian words in their language. The whole population of the Chinese Jews sprang from seven tribes, or families, whose names (Sing-tschoao-ti, Sing-kao-ti, Sing-gnai-ti, Sing-king-ti, Sing-tschi-ti, Sing-thschan-ti, Sing-li-ti,) seem to be derived from those of the different emperors under whom, at successive periods, these families established themselves in China. To the first of these emigrations we certainly cannot assign a later

date than the early part of the second century before the birth of Christ.

The Jews in China, in common with Mahometans and Christians, bear the name of Hwwy-Hwwy, but are distinguished by the significant epithet of Taou-kinkeaou, *the people that cut out the sinew*. (Gen. xxxii. 32.) The synagogue at Kae-fung-foo possessed a beautiful manuscript copy of the books of Moses; and by way of Haphtorah, a collection of passages selected from the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the Prophets, the books of Esther and Nehemiah, and some other historical books. It possessed also a book of commentaries, and numerous copies of their ritual. The rite of Circumcision, the Sabbath, the Passover, the Feast of Tabernacles, and the great Day of Atonement, are observed by them. They do not pronounce the name of Jehovah, but substitute that of the *Lord*. They have no knowledge whatever of the name or history of our Saviour. The inscriptions in their synagogue, and especially the "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God," are written both in Hebrew and Chinese. The Hebrew language, which is still known imperfectly by some, is also imperfectly pronounced, because the Chinese lan-

guage does not possess all the sounds necessary for the correct pronunciation of Hebrew.

Among these Jews some learned men were met with, great admirers of Confucius, and others who, by the universal toleration allowed, had risen to the rank of mandarins; one especially, named Chao, was much praised for having rebuilt at his own expense a synagogue destroyed by fire.

A great number of the Chinese Jews seem to have fallen away to Mahometanism. But the Jesuits having been driven out of China, in the year 1723, all sources of information on the subject were closed; it is only since the year 1816, that by the researches of the missionary, Dr. Morrison, we have again received some tidings of the people *that cut out the sinew*. The events of the last few years, as regards China, encourage us to look for many discoveries in this interesting field of research. At any rate, we are well assured of the fact, that the Israelites, during their banishment in the East, penetrated the wall of China.

We will now turn our attention to the captivity of Israel in the West.

We have already mentioned the evil effects resulting to the Jews, from the conversion of the Roman Emperors to Christianity. In the

Western Empire this unfavourable change began to show itself in the days of Honorius, and would probably have produced the same consequences which had occurred in the East, if the storm that burst over Rome towards the close of the fifth century, had not changed in a degree the position, both of the Jews and of their oppressors. The Northern nations, so long as they professed Arianism in preference to the Catholic faith, showed themselves merciful to their Jewish subjects. This was especially the case with the Goths. When, at the period we have mentioned, the dominion of the Ostrogoths, under their king, Theodoric, succeeded that of Odoacer and the Heruli in Italy and the West, the Jews had every reason to be satisfied with their new sovereign. Without concealing his desire for their conversion to Christianity, (at least to what he looked upon as such), he manifested more than once in his edicts and decrees, the unwillingness he felt to make use of any coercion or violence to effect it. Whether from the private feelings of the king, or the influence of his minister, Cassiodorus, the justice extended to the Jews in his days was well worthy of imitation. He wrote with kindness to those of Genoa, giving them permission to

rebuild their synagogue, when their liberty to do so was contested by the magistrates of the city. He granted them many rights and privileges, as well as at Milan and at Rome, and severely rebuked his people for having burnt a Jewish synagogue.

Thus the Goths in the West, like the Persians in the East, found faithful allies in the Jews of that period. When Justinian, by his general, Narses, conquered Italy from the Ostrogoths, (A.D. 555,) its Jewish population made a most determined resistance to the great enemy of their nation. At Naples, in particular, they distinguished themselves in their opposition to the Imperial troops; and when the town was captured, vengeance fell heavily on the Israelites who had taken so large a share in its defence.

The Visigoths also, at the commencement of the same century, (A.D. 518,) received assistance from the Jews, in their defence of Arles, in Provence, against the Franks under Clovis. In Spain, the kings of the Visigoths treated them with favour, till about the year 600, their king, Reccared, having abandoned Arianism to embrace the religion of Rome, made a beginning of that peculiar system of conduct towards the Jews, which, in after ages,

led to their total expulsion from the Peninsula. The conquest of the country by the Saracens, in 700, established for a time quite a different relation between the Jews and the other inhabitants of the land.

The dominion of the Franks, was in early times, less merciful to the exiles of Palestine than that of the Goths. The Merovingian line at least treated them with peculiar rigour. As early as the year 540, King Childebert forbade the Jews to appear in the streets of Paris, during the whole of Easter week. A little later, Clotaire II. deprived them of the power of holding any dignity or office of state, whether civil or military. King Dagobert, at the instigation, it is said, of the Emperor Heraclius, (A.D. 629,) compelled the Jews to receive baptism, under a threat of banishment in a body, but the effect of this menace speedily passed away. We find them soon after in Languedoc, possessing a flourishing maritime trade (including, alas ! the disgraceful traffic in slaves), and in a condition to equip fleets. In the same century their academy at Lunel was already in some repute.

Under the dynasty of the Carlovingians in France, we find the Jews of the eighth and ninth century enjoying so great a degree of

prosperity that the Romish bishops took alarm, and thought it necessary to enter a protest.

Pepin le Bref, son of Charles Martel, and father of Charlemagne, had already granted the Jews many privileges, especially the power of holding land. Their prosperity and influence increased considerably in the kingdom of the Franks under Charlemagne.

This great man, so remarkable in many ways, as one who gave a distinctive character to the age in which he lived, justly deserves the praise of posterity, as a sovereign and a legislator. He is not the less worthy of admiration for the efforts he made, and the principles he maintained, on the subjects of Christianity, the Church, and education. It is true, that, like all the men of his time, he was a devoted adherent to the Church of Rome; and on this account he contributed, in no small degree, to extend both the temporal and spiritual power of its bishop. And yet, with this faith in, and zeal for, Catholicism, there was in Charlemagne, what we might call a germ of Protestantism, which manifested itself in a desire for the general diffusion of learning, both in colleges and among the people, and in the successful efforts he made to further the diffusion, the translation, and the reading

of the Scriptures. He also made a vigorous opposition, even in defiance of Rome, to the worship of images, established about the same period in the East, by a Council* which may justly be termed Antichristian.

It was either his own Christian principles, joined to an enlightened system of politics, or perhaps a feeling of sympathy with the declared adversaries of every kind of image-worship, which led this monarch to show peculiar favour to the Jews. From whatever cause it may have arisen, there is but one voice on the subject; every historian bears witness to the wise benevolence of Charlemagne towards the Jewish people, and to the remarkable degree of liberty and prosperity which they enjoyed during his reign, and that of his son, Louis le Débonnaire.

The embassy, entrusted by Charlemagne to the Counts Sigismund and Lanfred, jointly with the Jew Isaac, (A.D. 797,) but mainly owing its success to the latter, at the Court of the Caliph Haroun al Raschid, is a fact generally known. Isaac spent four years at Bagdad in the fulfilment of this mission, and returned to Europe with magnificent presents for the Emperor, among which were an elephant and a costly

* The Second Council of Nice, 737.

timepiece. The same Jew afterwards made a similar expedition in the Emperor's behalf to the Court of Persia. It is possible that policy had some share in these arrangements, and that Charlemagne, in his projects against the Byzantine Empire, looked upon the wandering son of Israel, as the fittest agent between Western Christianity and Eastern Mahometanism. Even this gives proof of the enlightened views taken by the great Emperor, and his entire freedom from narrow-minded prejudice.

Louis le Débonnaire, the son and successor of Charlemagne, though possessing less talent and greatness of mind than his father, followed out his example in treating the Jews with benevolence. In his case, deep attachment to the Christian religion and to the Church, did not serve as a pretext for oppressing and trampling upon God's ancient people in their miserable unbelief. As far as the interests of Christianity and the Church, and the spirit of the age allowed him, he showed a marked goodwill towards the Jews, both by his laws and actions; in some respects, even more so than his father. A Jew, named Zedekiah, (who was disgraced and put to death under one of his successors,) was his first physician. He constantly protected them from all ill-

treatment and injustice. He confirmed to them many privileges and immunities, (for instance, the right of holding land and possessing slaves,) and allowed them to refuse the ordeal by fire or water, so much in use among the Christians of that age. He freed them from the grinding taxes known by the barbarous appellations of *Paraverdum*,* *Mansionaticum*,† *Telonium*.‡ All these immunities were confirmed to the Jews by the Emperor and King in the year 830, in the form of a most gracious edict addressed to two Israelites, Domat Rabbi and his grandson, Samuel. The Jews of that period had almost entire possession of the trade with Venice and the Levant, and had thus acquired great power, especially in the south of France. At Narbonne, for instance, for many years after, one of the two chief magistrates was by prescriptive right a Jew. On their account, the fairs, which had before been held on a Saturday, were, by the Imperial Commissaries, changed to another day of the week. Lyons was at that period the

* A tax for exemption from the obligation of furnishing post-horses for the high roads.

† A tax for exemption from the obligation to lodge soldiers.

‡ Custom--taxes on imports by sea.

centre of their industry and commerce, they inhabited the best part of the town, and possessed a very fine synagogue. It was to no purpose that the clergy in their councils fretted and remonstrated against so much favour being shown to the Jews. Even Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, found no opportunity at court for venting his vehement complaints; though, according to his account, the influence of the Jews in his time was so great, that they openly boasted of possessing the monarch's decided preference, and declared that some Christians found more interest in the conversation and teaching of the Rabbins, than of their own priests. We find, in a letter from the bishop we have just named, a singular complaint, especially in that age; he says, "that the country people looked upon the Jews as the only people of God!" Some persons, therefore, must have considered that the Jews held a purer faith than the Roman Catholics themselves. We read about this time (A.D. 839) of a deacon, named Bodo, who was admitted to Judaism by the rite of circumcision.

The position of the Jews underwent an entire change at the downfall of the Carlovingian dynasty, which began to decay after the death of Louis le Débonnaire. The invasion

of the Normans, who, in the latter years of the reign of Charlemagne, began to overrun Europe, was partly the cause, and partly the signal for a complete change of the whole state of things in that quarter of the world. The whole surface of affairs in Germany, France, and to a certain extent in Italy and England also, was (if we may so express it) completely flooded, and its aspect from that time entirely changed. An age of barbarism spread over the whole face of Christianity, during which the power of kings, the commercial prosperity of nations, their internal and external means of communication, and in a word, all general peace and order were involved in one common ruin. During this age of almost revolutionary anarchy, the feudal system developed itself. This striking characteristic of the middle ages, the sole remedy for so many existing evils, became so firmly established that its remains still exist, and continue, though with a decreasing power, to exert their influence over the institutions of the present time. To the Jews, this new system was in every way injurious. With the growth of the feudal system in Europe, the rise of the Capetian dynasty in France, and the establishment of the Duke of Normandy on the throne of

England, commenced a period of seven centuries, the time of the most cruel oppression and deepest debasement which that unhappy nation ever underwent.

No greater contrast can possibly be imagined than that between the Norman and the Jew, during the time of the middle ages. It has been generally remarked, that the Jews, during the whole period of their dispersion, have found themselves less *at home* in the north of Europe than in any part of the globe. But, as opposed to the celebrated Norman race, who, in the ninth century, invaded and renewed the whole European population, we may especially look upon the Jews as the complete antipodes of the nations of Christendom. Thus it was no mere matter of chance which made the period of Norman glory, the time of lowest degradation to the Jews. It formed part of a regular system, because what was most opposed to the Jews, and most detested by them, was the special object of reverence and devotion to the Normans, whose submission to the Papal power, both spiritual and temporal, was absolute and entire. We may easily recal to mind an instance of most bigoted submission to the Papacy, coupled with cruel enmity to the Jews, in King John,

surnamed Lackland, who gave up his kingdom to the Pope, to receive it again as a vassal ; whilst the sufferings of the Jews in his reign have been painted both in history and romance.

The period during which Rome and the Papacy were most highly exalted, from the time of Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, corresponds in part with the age of the Crusades ; which commenced towards the close of the same century, and lasted, at intervals, for a space of 200 years. No act of the Christians ever displayed such unaccountable hatred to the remnant of Israel as the Crusades. While preparing for an expedition to the Israelites' own fatherland, the crusaders consecrated each attempt to conquer the city of the Temple, and the tomb of the Saviour of the world, the King of the Jews, by first drawing their swords in Europe upon the defenceless exiles of Palestine. A furious band, under the notorious Gauthier *Sans avoir*, signalized their unhallowed zeal by most revolting deeds of violence and murder perpetrated on the Jews of Trèves. The bishop of that town thought it right to refuse protection to these unfortunate people, and rather to make use of the opportunity for compelling them to receive

baptism. Driven to desperation by this cruelty, men slew their children and themselves with their own hands, and women threw themselves from the bridges into the river. From Trèves the fire of persecution spread to Cologne, Mentz, Worms, and Spires, where the Jews fought desperately, and sold their lives dearly. Persecution raged on the banks of the Danube as well as the Rhine. We find mentioned in some records, that a massacre took place in Bavaria of as many as 12,000 Jews. In fact, the period of the Crusades was the beginning of a long continuance of oppression, murders, and bodily tortures, inflicted upon the Jews in almost every part of Christendom.

In the midst of these horrible atrocities and crying oppression, it is gratifying to hear one voice at least raised to protest against these crimes,—a voice expressive of Christian benevolence towards the objects of so much hatred and cruelty. Impartiality requires us to state, that such a voice more than once issued from Rome by the mouth of her popes. Gregory IX. in 1240, and Innocent IV. in 1250, are specially noticed as pleading the cause of the Jews in their day with nations and kings. But none delivered a testimony so entirely just, merciful, and in accordance with the

spirit of the Gospel, as the celebrated Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, in France, a man eminent both for the sanctity of his life, and the spirituality of his writings, from whence he was surnamed *the last of the Fathers*. His high character, which had secured almost universal respect, enabled him to exercise considerable influence, both in the Christian Church and over the crowned heads of Europe. To this influence may be chiefly traced the commencement of the second Crusade, in the year 1146, in which the Emperor Conrad III. and King Louis VII, of France took part.

Again, men calling themselves Christians, were preparing to open the campaign with a massacre of the Jews. An unworthy monk, named Radulphus, stirred up the populace of Cologne, Strasburg, and other towns of Germany against them. Let us hear how the Abbot of Clairvaux speaks to the sanguinary and seditious monk, and pleads the cause of the menaced Israelites; first, in an epistle to the clergy and laity of what was then called Eastern France, and afterwards in a letter addressed to Henry, Archbishop of Mentz:*

“For the rest, brethren, I exhort you, yet

* St. Bernardi (Abbatis Claravallensis) Epistolæ, 132 et 133.

not I alone, but the Apostle of God with me, ‘not to believe every spirit.’ We have heard, and we rejoice, that the zeal for God is strong in you; but it is well that the discretion of wisdom should not be wanting. The Jews ought not to be persecuted, they ought not to be put to death, they ought not to be driven into banishment. Consult Holy Scripture. I know that it is prophesied in the Psalms concerning the Jews—‘God,’ saith the Church, ‘will make me triumph over mine enemies, slay them not, lest my people forget.’ These men are living monuments to remind us of the sufferings of our Lord. For this cause they are dispersed into all countries, that, while they suffer the just punishment of their heinous sin, they may be witnesses of our redemption. Therefore, in the same psalm, the Church adds, ‘Scatter them by thy power, and put them down, O Lord, our protector.’* Thus it is they are scattered, they are put down, they endure a hard bondage under Christian princes, yet in the evening-tide of the world they will be converted, and he will remember them.”

Addressing himself to Radulphus, he thus

* This is the version of the Vulgate, of which the writer makes use.

speaks:—"Are you greater than our father Abraham, who laid down the sword at God's command, which he had drawn in obedience to Him? Are you greater than the prince of the Apostles, who asked, 'Lord, shall we smite with the sword?' But I think you are filled with the wisdom of the Egyptians, which is foolishness in the sight of God; you are of another mind from Him who said, 'Put up thy sword in the sheath, for he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.' Does not the Church, day by day, triumph more gloriously over the Jews, when she refutes and converts them, than if she slew them at once with the edge of the sword? Does she not pray the Lord daily to take the veil from their eyes, that they may be brought out of darkness to the light of truth? The Church knows that the Lord looketh with grace on those who return good for evil, love for hatred. What signify then the words, 'Slay them not?' What meaneth the promise, 'When the fulness of the Gentiles shall be come in, then all Israel shall be saved'? What the promise, 'The Lord will build Jerusalem, He shall gather together the outcasts of Israel'? Are you the man who will make the prophets liars, and bring to nought the whole treasure of

mercy and grace in Christ Jesus? You are in truth like your master, who was a murderer from the beginning!"

It was not only such occasional outbreaks of popular fury, which rendered the position of the Jews in the middle ages so deeply and hopelessly miserable ; the place assigned to them in the social edifice of those times was such, as naturally to produce a condition, wherein contempt and debasement were by turns the cause and effect of one another. The organization of the feudal system formed the sole barrier against the tide of anarchy and social disruption with which, after the reign of Charlemagne, the whole Continent of Europe was threatened. This system established a kind of political hierarchy in every part of Europe, in which the very lowest and most degraded position was assigned to the Jews. Henceforth they became *the Pariahs of the West*. That any place at all, even the most abject, was assigned to them, was a sort of favour, owing to a peculiar circumstance, which, in its turn, contributed not a little to their humiliation and degeneracy.

The Romans had early looked upon commerce as unbecoming the dignity of a warlike and conquering nation. The northern tribes,

who, in their migrations during the fifth and succeeding centuries, had taken the place of the Romans, manifested still greater contempt for all matters of finance and traffic. The free men possessed the land, the rest of the population were either peasants, serfs, or inhabitants of the towns ; the latter, for a long time, were rather artisans than men of commerce or capital. Thus all trading, banking, and financial operations fell, as it were, naturally into the hands of the Jews, who, considering themselves as strangers, and looked upon as enemies by Christians, were more and more completely shut out from the possession of land, and the practice of agriculture. Commerce itself, in the situation in which the Jews of that time were placed, soon took a more ignoble turn, and sunk into petty traffic, while their financial speculations not unfrequently degenerated into usury. At least the cry of hatred and indignation on this account was first raised against them during the middle ages.

To understand this accusation of usury, and to pass sentence upon it with fairness, we must take into account the habits of the age in which it first arose, together with the natural disposition and peculiar destiny of the Israelites

themselves. They were not originally a commercial nation, but shepherds and husbandmen; and here we may again repeat the observation, that "Israel is only really Israel in his own country." Their change of occupation, when they became men of commerce instead of husbandmen, must be viewed in close connexion with their position as wanderers over the earth.

It was when dispersed and scattered among all nations, that they took advantage of their very peculiar position for the purposes of traffic.

But though the Israelites, closely connected by ties of brotherhood, yet strangers in many lands, began their commercial operations on a large scale, they could not long preserve them on the same footing, while the main body of their population was sunk (as the penalty of their sin) to the very lowest grade of society.

At length, being crushed and confined within the very narrowest circle in which his existence could be endured, by the Christian nations, the Jew was forced, by a combination of circumstances, to confine his inventive genius to financial speculations exclusively. We must not, however, imagine that everything to which the name of usury was given

in the middle ages, when the science of finance was unknown, really deserved that appellation.* The prejudices of the time did not allow men to consider that property in money, as well as in land, or any other possession, ought to bring in some return to its owner. The Jews, it is true, had a large share in causing this misunderstanding, by the means they employed to change a fair interest into a detestable system of usury ; but Christians, on the other hand, were no less to blame. The historian and the impartial judge will thus view both sides of the case, when considering the financial operations of the Jews in the midst of the Christian nations ; and in fairly analyzing the charges against them, he will, at any rate, acknowledge the science and talents, as well as the cupidity and avarice, which they displayed. We must recognise the services rendered by the Jews, both to the theory and practice of finance, while our feel-

* To justify the Jews from the accusation of having established an almost universal system of usury, I will not repeat, for it is a truth no longer contested, that they only gave in to this vice in those countries where the ill-treatment of Christians compelled them to resort to such expedients to preserve the fruit of their labours.—*Beignot, "Les Juifs d'Occident."*

ings are revolted by the infamous abuse of interest, which brings a curse like that of leprosy upon every one who is guilty of it, whether bearing the name of Jew or Christian.

The enormous rate of interest exacted by the Jews of the middle ages cannot be defended, but may be easily accounted for to their own discredit, as well as to that of Christian nations and princes. Excluded by the feudal system from every honourable and legitimate career, his life continually threatened, his property and means of subsistence defenceless against injustice and oppression, it is not to be wondered at that the Jew employed without scruple the only weapons which were left to him. He encountered violence and force with artifice and *finesse*, he opposed the law of the strongest with calculation and deep-laid schemes: in a word, he brought to bear the *power of gold* against that of *iron*. Injustice was practised on both sides, in diametrically opposite ways; and who shall decide which was the most guilty,—the noble baron who, from his fortress on the banks of the Rhine, pillaged the vessel of the passing navigator, or the oppressed Jew, who, with as little mercy, ruined half Paris by his usury? By their superiority in financial affairs, the

Jews excited popular fury to the very utmost. Doubly detested, as the murderers of Christ and the bloodsuckers of Christian wealth, they were, in the middle ages, a special object of severity to the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil,—of hatred to the burghers,—and of violence to the populace. The sovereigns who gave them protection, usually made use of them as of a sponge, which they allowed to fill with the money of their subjects, and then squeezed its contents into the Royal treasury. They were, however, sometimes obliged to leave them to the mercy of their enemies, at a period when a single sermon from a malevolent or imprudent monk, or a single absurd report of murder having been committed on a Christian child to celebrate their passover with his blood, or even a mere outbreak of blind fanaticism among the populace, was sufficient to bring murder and pillage upon the whole of a Jewish quarter.

All this, it is true, was in opposition to existing laws, and might have been prosecuted and punished by the courts of justice. But the laws themselves were but little more lenient to the Jew. They excluded him from every dignity which might raise his position, and from every employment which might

ameliorate it. The Jews were debarred by law from holding landed property, from exercising any civil or military office, and even from the right of citizenship ; while many humiliating obligations were imposed upon them. They were shut up within the narrow bounds of a peculiar quarter, often, as in many towns of Italy and Rome in particular, locked up at night like cattle in a yard. Open marks of degradation were imposed upon them, such as yellow clothes, peaked hats, and the like. In Bohemia, there was an edict issued, prescribing a peculiar manner of hanging the Jews, in order that a distinction might be made between their body and that of the Christian criminal who might share the same fate.*

Was it possible that such a classification and such treatment should fail in producing an effect upon the moral character of the Jews, and tending at once to enervate and to harden the subject of such cruel oppression ? Can we be surprised that he, whose toleration in the society around him depended only on the little money he possessed, should cling to that possession with the greatest tenacity ? or that, finding his activity compelled, as it were, to centre on this point, he should have made it

* Ut a Christianis suspensis discernerentur.

the one subject of delight, of absorbing interest, and earthly pleasure? Can we be surprised that his outward appearance should have suffered as well as his inward character; or that his countenance should come to wear the expression of that “love of money which is the root of all evil,”—of that timidity and trembling of heart which belongs to the man who lives in the midst of distrust, aversion, and hateful plots,—who feels no security for his property, his life, or for what, to the heart of the husband and the father, is as dear or dearer than life?

Let us compare these details of the sad condition of the Israelites in the middle ages, with the words written twenty-five centuries before by their great prophet and historian, Moses, in the Book of Deuteronomy (xxviii. 29). After having drawn the terrible picture of their ruin as a nation in the land of their fathers, he concludes with the following words, which evidently refer to their situation as wanderers over the earth:—“And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone. And among these nations shalt thou find no

ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest; but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind: and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life: in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see." (Deut. xxviii. 64—67.) Here was again manifested *the severity of God upon them that fell*. But ye, O nations of the earth! witnesses, and in great measure executioners of the Divine sentence, boast not yourselves against this Israel, so heavily chastened, but rather fear for yourselves! Rejoice not at the humiliation of the chosen people, but be merciful, be just to them. Observe, especially, how the God of their fathers, while he visits their transgression with most terrible affliction, does not forget to show forth at the same time his faithfulness and truth to the posterity of Jacob. He will bless those who do good to them, and will visit it upon those who evil entreat them. Oppressed Israel still survives! but where are the many nations

who have oppressed them ? Even amid their deepest degradation, God has not only preserved to them a separate existence, but has preserved them in a state that possesses the greatest capability for restoration and renewed life. The Israelite, despised till he became despicable, has yet, by God's providential dealings, become in a manner indispensable to the social existence of the world. Alas ! up to this day, that people have supplied the nations of the earth with silver and gold, whose high calling it once was (and will be again !) to scatter among them the riches of the knowledge and the glory of God.

Yes, deep indeed was Israel's fall, and grievous to all who love him are his wounds, his misery, and his reproach. And yet, by the side of his vices, odious in their nature, and so greatly detested by the nations, there were still to be found some virtues and good qualities which the Israelite never lost, even in the time of his greatest misery. Unhappily hardened against faith in Christ Jesus, he has ever continued constant to his belief in Moses. He sometimes sets an example which may make Christians blush, of temperance, of chastity, obedience to lawful authority, mercy, and benevolence. His activity is equal to his

skill. Though cruelly tormented and provoked, he can yet forgive injuries. Beneath the proof-armour of insensibility, put on as a shield against the contempt of those around him, he often possessed deep feelings of kindness. Amid all his sufferings from without, family peace, and a happy home, were usually his portion. Wearied with long days and weeks of labour and insult, he found repose in the bosom of his family, by the light of his Sabbath lamp. There, the Israelite, so constantly, so universally spurned, became again a patriarch. He broke the bread, and blessed the cup, after the manner of his forefathers, after the manner of that very Jesus and his apostles, whom to his own sorrow, he so blindly refuses to acknowledge. The very expression of his countenance betrays, even in its degeneracy, a far nobler origin than a careless and superficial world would care to recognise, or even to look for. The Jewish skull and the Jewish countenance, in many a maiden of that nation, offer even now, to a Winckelman or a Lavater, a type of Oriental beauty. Nor do we invariably find an Isaac of York, beside an interesting Rebecca, nor a Shylock of Venice, beside a fair Jessica, "ashamed to be her father's child."

Oftentimes the countenance of the Israelite himself brings before our imagination one of the noble or amiable characters of the Old Testament,—nay, has furnished a model to the painter, when representing the King of Israel upon the cross.

The peculiar feature, both of Israel and his history, consists in striking contrasts. The most marked election, and the most terrible reprobation ; the blessing of Abraham the pastoral chief, and the curse of Judas's thirty pieces of silver ; the rejection of the Messiah, and yet the ever-abiding and close connexion of the Messiah with the Jews.

We will now resume the thread of events. Having sketched the social position of the Jews in Europe during the middle ages, and noticed the general features by which it was distinguished, we shall now draw from recorded facts an account of what befell them in particular, in the principal states of Christian Europe.

The Jews in France, so signally patronized by the Carlovingian race, experienced very different treatment after the extinction of that dynasty. The kings of the house of Caput were, in general, little inclined to show them favour. At the same time, nothing could be more variable than the different edicts pro-

mulgated in the different reigns concerning the Jews. Towards the close of the eleventh century they were banished, and afterwards recalled by Philip I. In the reign of Philip Augustus they were at first banished (1182), and then re-admitted upon certain conditions, one of which was the obligation to wear a little wheel upon their dress as a mark. Louis VII. (A.D. 1223) treated them all as his serfs, and with one stroke of his pen remitted to his Christian subjects all their debts to the Jews. Louis IX. (St. Louis) distinguished himself above the rest by his hatred of the Jews, on account of their usury, their blasphemies, and their Talmud. Philip the Fair (in the early part of the fourteenth century), well known as the destroyer of the Knights Templars, displayed at the same time his hatred to the Jewish people, and his love for their money and possessions. He banished them twice from the kingdom, in two succeeding years (1306-7). They were treated unfavourably by his son, Louis X., while Philip V. the Long, his brother and successor, granted them favour and protection. In his reign, however, (A.D. 1341,) we find again brought forward against them the usual accusations of treason, poisoning the wells, &c., &c.; and on this

account many were burnt, many massacred, banished, or condemned to heavy fines. The year 1350, in the reign of John II., was the beginning of a time of rest for them. During the general distress of the country, and the captivity of the king in England, the Jews in France enjoyed a little quiet, some degree of favour from the States-General, and of praise from historians. Charles V. confirmed these privileges. In 1370 they were again banished, but soon recalled under Charles VI. and treated with more favour. The end of this century witnessed a fresh decree for their banishment, which, however, was never put in execution, but all debts to them were cancelled. Similar decrees of banishment have since been often proclaimed, but allowed either in part or entirely to fall to the ground.

The various enactments of ecclesiastical law against the Jews, are more useful in furnishing information as to the rights and privileges which in France and elsewhere they formerly enjoyed, than of any penalties and disqualifications which were carried out into actual execution against them. Thus, by the Council of Vannes, A.D. 465, Christians, and especially their clergy, were forbidden to eat with Jews. The Second Council of Orleans, some years

later, prohibited marriage between Jews and Christians. The Council of Beziers (A.D. 1246) refused permission to consult a Jewish physician. The Council of Château-Gonthier excluded Jews from holding the office of bailli, or any other which would give them the right to punish Christians. It is precisely from regulations such as these, which appear to have been seldom put in execution, that we learn in what position the Jews stood with respect to the rest of the population, before these different prohibitions were issued.

Nothing could be more variable than the principles of legislation in France, during the middle ages, with regard to the Jews. They were banished, and again recalled; usury was at one time forbidden, at another allowed under certain restrictions; just as it happened that the king, nobles, or chief citizens, wanted the help of the Jews, or could do without them. Above all, having no fixed position in society, we find them treated at one time as villeins belonging to the soil, "glebæ adscripti," or as slaves (*servi*), and as such, sold or alienated with the domains of the king or great vassals of the Crown, as a part of the property. At another time, on the contrary, they were in the possession of liberties and

privileges, the protection of which was, in France, entrusted to a particular officer. The first traces of this office appear under the Carlovingian dynasty, when a certain Count Everard is spoken of, in the year 828, as "Magister Judæorum," governor of, or agent for, the Jews. In later times it was the protector or guardian-general of the Jews, upon whose subordinates, called "guardians," the Jews depended in matters of jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, and to whom they addressed their complaints. The "Protector of the Jews" was, for many centuries, chosen from among the highest nobility of the kingdom; thus, in 1357, the Count d'Etampes, a prince of the blood, held this office, and in 1424 John de Forbin, brother of the governor of Provence. That the office was a lucrative one may be inferred from the nature of the times and of the people. The "Protector," however, was not always the friend of the Jews; nay, sometimes he was their bitter enemy.

It has been already remarked, that the nearer we approach the Pyrenees the more favourable, generally speaking, was the position of the Jews. In the south of France, most of the trade, especially that with the East, in spices, remained in their hands; at

Marseilles, for instance, formerly called *Hebrœa*, or the Jewish, from the great business carried on by Jews in that place. Nevertheless, in these provinces even, local statutes placed Jews on a level with the outcasts of society. At Toulouse, as late as the thirteenth century, a Jew was compelled to receive yearly in Easter week a blow on the face before the doors of the principal church, in remembrance of a town which they had delivered up to the Saracens. At Beziers, the bishop yearly on Palm Sunday mounted the pulpit, and solemnly exhorted the multitude to avenge the death of the Saviour upon the Jews of the place. After the year 1160, a sum of money was yearly received as a substitute for the continuance of this insulting usage.

The theological studies of the Jews and their Hebrew learning, met with more favour in the south of France, than in any of the other provinces. In the north, except at Paris, where there was a Rabbinical school of some note, we find no trace of any similar institution; whereas in the south, Montpellier, Marseilles, Narbonne, Beziers, and other towns, were celebrated for their synagogues and academies, as well as for their Rabbinical writers, commentators, and grammarians. We may

name Gerson the elder and Jacob Bar Jekar, in the eleventh century; and lastly, Rabbi Solomon of Montpellier, in the twelfth, a leader among those Rabbins who so strenuously exerted themselves to oppose the philosophical and anti-traditional tendencies of the celebrated Maimonides, of Cordova. The French synagogues took the part of the traditional school, against the majority of those in Spain and Provence. Another French Rabbi, of no ordinary celebrity, succeeded in reconciling the synagogues of that country to the writings of Maimonides. This was David, the son of Joseph Kimchi, descended from a Spanish family, which had produced many learned men, who gained great reputation as a Hebrew grammarian. His name ranks high both among Jews and Christians, as a commentator on the Old Testament, and the writings of the earlier Rabbins. Lastly, Rabbi Solomon Ben Isaac, who lived in the eleventh century, belongs to the learned Jews of France, though the name of Yarchi, which he bears, is apparently derived from the town of Luna, in Spain. Besides his other writings, this Rabbi is famed for his Commentaries upon all the books of the Old Testament. Born at Troyes, in Champagne (1105), he appears to have reached the

age of sixty-five. Many writers have sketched for him a life of adventures, of which a large portion belong to the region of romance; not so, however, his travels for seven years, during which he visited Germany, Italy, Greece, Palestine, and Persia.

An interesting portion of the Jewish history in the middle ages is connected with the kingdom of Provence. There the influence of Spain, always considerable in the south of France, still predominated, especially while Provence continued an independent state. The practice of medicine was chiefly in the hands of Jews, in spite of the decree of the Council. King Réné, in the fifteenth century, was surrounded by Jewish physicians and astronomers or astrologers. When Provence was incorporated with France, in the year 1481, the Jews were soon banished by an edict of Louis XII. The descendants of some of the Provençal Jews, having embraced Christianity, are met with in later times among the nobility of that province.

In proportion as we advance towards the north of Europe, we find the children of the captivity less prosperous and less stationary. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark had no Jewish inhabitants during the middle ages.

In the two former countries, a few wanderers have settled since the time of the Reformation. We find that in England they continued, till near the end of the thirteenth century, in a state of degradation and wretchedness, rendered more striking by its contrast to the wealth they actually possessed. Here, even more than elsewhere, were the Jews, during the middle ages, treated as *cattle fattened for the slaughter*; kings and people alike looked upon them merely as subjects for extortion and persecution. The Jews on their side, next to the religion of their fathers, from which men sought to tear them by force, clung to nothing so much as their riches, gained with much labour by banking and usury. For many years the houses and synagogues which they bought in the towns of England, often taken from them for nothing, or by a forced sale, bore marks of their wealth. It is, however, unjust to say (as one historian does), that no traces of schools or learned men are to be found among the English Jews of the middle ages. More exact research confirms the remarks of Rabbi Salomon Ben Virga upon the learned men, and especially the physicians, which that nation can boast of in Great Britain, during the time of their

greatest obscurity. It is certain that they possessed extensive libraries, of which they were stripped before their final expulsion. History also records public disputations upon religion between Bishops of the Church and Jewish Doctors, giving manifest evidence of the knowledge possessed by the English Jews of that period, in matters of a higher nature than mere worldly gain.

The first residence of the Jews in England takes its date from the time of the Heptarchy, and the first mention of their existence is made in an ecclesiastical canon of Egbert, Archbishop of York (A.D. 740), which forbade Christians taking any part in the Jewish festivals. The laws of Edward the Confessor (A.D. 1041) declare them the property of the king, in the same manner as in France. Many Jews seem to have come over to England from Normandy with William the Conqueror. We find especial mention of them made in the time of William Rufus, the second king of the Norman line. This king, himself the enemy of the clergy, and but little attached to the Church, permitted the Jews to defend their religion in public, as much as they pleased. What, however, he liked best in them was their wealth, which, for his own sake no less

than theirs, he gave them every opportunity of amassing, especially from the clergy. At that time the Jews possessed in London and elsewhere (as at Oxford and York) considerable mansions, resembling the castles of the nobility in their exterior; and whole streets were afterwards named from them.

It was under Henry II. and his sons (in the twelfth century) that the cruel treatment and plundering of the Jews reached its height. At the coronation of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, they were cruelly persecuted and massacred on a pretended charge of witchcraft. At Stamford, they suffered grievously during the same reign, from the knights preparing for the Crusades. At York, the hatred of the populace vented itself in a terrible attack upon the Jews, which drove them to seek refuge in a royal castle in the neighbourhood. When pursued and besieged there, they fell into such despair as to slay with their own hands their wives, their children, and one another, abandoning to the flames all the property they had brought with them. King Richard, whose treatment of the Jews was, to a certain extent, regulated by justice, punished the authors of this cruel outrage. On his return from Palestine, and subsequent escape from prison, he established

“itinerant justicers,” who were to go through the kingdom and take cognizance of the affairs of the Jews. But these are evident proofs that their real good was not what the king had in view; he only thought to secure their miserable money, or rather the money of his subjects, which the usury of this unhappy race served to bring into his treasury.

The same system of policy, but accompanied with greater meanness, was practised by Richard’s brother and successor. King John began his reign (A.D. 1199) by granting to the Jews all kinds of liberties and privileges; but he soon showed in what manner he meant to exercise his goodwill. To dispose of the purses and properties of the Jews, as presents to his friends, or to enrich his own treasury, was but a trifling indication of his royal purposes towards them. Not content with appropriating to himself their *known* treasures, he compelled them, by the most cruel torments (pulling out their teeth or eyes), to reveal the treasure which they had concealed. In this manner he extorted from a Jew of Bristol the sum of 10,000 marcs of silver (A.D. 1210).

Henry III., the son and successor of John (A.D. 1217—1272) treated the Jews upon the same principles. Privileges and protection

from the clergy and populace were granted to the Jews, only to afford the king an opportunity of enriching himself at their expense. Their persecution consequently became still more severe; and yet princes such as these *dared* to found establishments for the conversion of the Jews! and conversions sometimes took place, the sincerity of which, however, can rarely be ascertained. Even these conversions gave fresh occasion for the old accusations against them,—of murdering Christian children, particularly those of their former co-religionists.

The position of the Jews under all these inflictions became so unbearable, that they earnestly petitioned the king to allow them to leave the country. This request was not granted, and it was not till the year 1290 that Edward I., in accordance with a proposal from the Parliament, gave sentence for their perpetual banishment. The Jews, with their families, and all the moveable property they had been able to rescue, quitted the country, to the number of fifteen or sixteen thousand. Even to the very last moment, however, such exactions and cruelties were inflicted upon them that many threw themselves into the sea,

and others reached the Continent in a pitiable state of misery and destitution.

Tradition assigns a very early date to the establishment of the Jews in Germany. Some, indeed, seem to have come there in the train of the Roman armies, and to have settled in the Roman colonies in those parts, especially on the banks of the Meuse and Rhine. An edict of the Emperor Constantine shows that in the year 321 they were already established at Cologne. In that town they soon became numerous, and prosperous in commerce, while they continued to enjoy many important privileges. The commencement of the middle ages in Germany, as elsewhere, put an end to this, comparatively speaking, favourable position of the Jews. From that time, there, as in England, a series of oppression and degradation ensued, which is the more wearisome to detail because in Germany it lasted longer, and was not interrupted by any banishment. On the other hand, the history of the German Jews affords more proofs of learning and intellectual culture than that of the English, though far less than was manifested in France or Italy. We find mention made of many learned men who kept up the study of theo-

logical learning and grammatical science. The German Rabbins held frequent correspondence with those of Spain, and this intercourse was enlivened by an occasional interchange of visits. The writings of Yarchi and other commentators of the same stamp were known and studied by the learned Jews of Germany. We find mention made of many assemblies, or general councils, held by the Jews, for discussing matters of religion or theology. Among the German Rabbins of the middle ages, whose names and works have been recorded by various writers,* we may mention Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon, a celebrated traveller, in the twelfth century. Soon after the invention of printing, the German Jews distinguished themselves by their editions of the Hebrew Old Testament (1489), and of divers Jewish authors and commentators. The descendants of a rabbi famed among the Israelites of his day (Rabbi Moses, of Spires) settled in Lombardy, and distinguished themselves in this line; especially Rabbi Gerson, his great nephew, who set up a press first at Venice and afterwards at Constantinople.

About this period we read of the conversion of some German Jews to the Christian faith.

* Wolf, Bartolocci, and others, in their "Bibliothecæ Rabbinicæ."

One interesting case occurred at Cologne, in the middle of the twelfth century, that of Herman de Kappenberg, a monk of Westphalia, who wrote a touching account of his own conversion to Christianity.

In every other respect, Germany, during these centuries, exercised a deadening and crushing influence on the energies of the exiles from Palestine. Rejected, excluded, and excluding themselves from all that might have led to a more honourable position, the great mass of Jews in this country also seemed to exist only for the payment of taxes and fines, for which they sought to indemnify themselves by extorting the greatest possible amount of usury, to the increasing deterioration of their national character from generation to generation.

The Jews in Germany never had to complain of oppression proceeding directly from the Emperor, because they were placed in a peculiar position with respect to the head of that empire. The situation assigned to them by the feudal system of Europe, without the bounds as it were of the Christian body politic, caused them to depend immediately upon the Emperor, or rather the empire, and to bear the appellation of "Servants of the Imperial

chamber."* This name is sometimes incorrectly considered to indicate either a state of slavery, like that of ancient times, or of serfdom, as in the middle ages; whereas this title really denoted an exemption from any other authority except the Imperial power. It has also been thought that, at all events, the Emperor might dispose of the life and property of every Jew within his dominions. But the exercise of such a right would have been absurdly inconsistent with the Emperor's own interests; on the contrary, together with his rights over the Jews was connected the obligation of protecting them from and against all others, and of maintaining their existence as a synagogue and a nation. Upon these exclusively Imperial rights over the Jews, no prince or free town in Germany could encroach without the Emperor's express permission; and even with that permission, the protection granted to that part of the population must be scrupulously respected. Sometimes, too, the Emperor, regarding himself as the head of the feudal system throughout the Continent of Europe, claimed rights over the Jews, even beyond the limits of the Empire, *e.g.*, in France and Italy.

* *Servi Cameræ Imperialis et Germanicæ.*

This direct and exclusive dependance of the Jews upon the Imperial power might certainly have operated to their advantage, by protecting them from other hostile powers, and thus have forwarded their attainment of liberty and civilization. But we know that the Imperial authority in Germany, though imposing in name and splendid in appearance, was in reality of little weight. It possessed neither the power nor the promptitude to repress any outbreak of popular fury caused by religious fanaticism, or excited by the wealth and usury of the Jews themselves.

Some frightful instances of such outrages have been already specified, in the time of the first Crusade. They were repeated more than once in later times, with still more terrible violence, throughout the empire and elsewhere. The Jews in France and the Netherlands were but just beginning to breathe after the fury of the Pastoureaux (a set of fanatics of that time), who, it is said, had put to death whole synagogues; when a new storm burst upon them from the banks of the Rhine. A certain man, named Armleder, an inn-keeper by profession, stirred up (1337), upon some pretext, the populace of those countries against the Jews, with so much success, that in Alsace alone more than

1,500 of that nation fell victims. Some years after, in 1348, a fresh pretext for killing the Jews was found in an epidemic malady, resembling, in a degree, the cholera morbus of our days. Half Europe was visited with this terrible scourge, and the populace cast the whole blame of it on the Jews, declaring that they had poisoned the wells. A general massacre was the consequence, against which princes, magistrates, bishops, and the Pope himself, remonstrated in vain. In the south of Germany, and in Switzerland, the persecution raged with most violence: Duke Albert, of Austria, who wished to spare the Jews, was compelled by force to condemn five hundred of them to the flames. At Esslingen, they shut themselves up in the synagogue, and killed one another. At Basle, a house filled with Jewish fugitives was burnt, and the magistrates were compelled to promise with an oath, that they would not allow any Jew to establish himself in the city for the space of 200 years. From this time also they were no longer tolerated at Zurich or Berne. At Strasburg, they were broken on the wheel and burnt by hundreds, and their synagogue demolished to make way for a chapel. From the year 1389, all residence in that city was

forbidden them, and (with the exception of a few families), no Jew suffered to remain in the place till the time of the French Revolution, four hundred years after. In Frankfort, while pillaging the houses of the Jews, a fire was kindled, which destroyed a quarter of the city. Impunity was almost everywhere granted to the perpetrators of these atrocities by Imperial edicts.

The history of the Jews in the Netherlands during the middle ages is, on a smaller scale, much like that of Germany and the north of France. Jews were early settled in the provinces of Belgium and the northern part of the Netherlands. A few centuries later, a celebrated writer on commerce* declared, that the Jews formed an essential portion of a mercantile nation; but at the period of which I speak this principle was not understood in a way to benefit the Israelitish exiles, and their connexion, with either sovereigns or people, was on a very different footing. Nevertheless, the records of history bear witness to the fact, that after the invasion of the Normans, the commerce in those provinces was all carried on by Jews, and that the

* *Recherches sur le Commerce, par Van den Oudemeulen, t. xi. p. 133.*

entire failure of trade in Liege must be attributed to their banishment from that renowned Episcopal city.

Jews were already living in Flanders at the time of the Crusades. In later times, fugitives from France and England established themselves in that country. They were driven out in the twelfth century, but by the fourteenth had already settled there again in great numbers. In Brabant, they were sometimes found useful and protected, sometimes severely persecuted and oppressed. Their final banishment from the duchy was caused by a charge of sacrilege, an accusation which had often before brought great numbers to the stake. In 1370, the populace accused them of having often pierced the holy wafer; the memory of this fact, and the signal vengeance which followed, has been preserved by Jubilees, the last of which was celebrated in the year 1820. The Jews also have perpetuated the remembrance of this catastrophe in an elegy, in which the first victim of it was said to be a rich banker of Enghien, named Jonathan.

In Guelderland, the Jews were numerous, and enjoyed the protection of its counts (afterwards dukes), especially at Zutphen, Does-

burg, and Arnheim. In the latter city, about the middle of the fifteenth century, a Jew was appointed physician to the town, and the magistrates strictly prohibited any ill-treatment of them either in public or private. In the same century, however, a noble lady of Guelderland was burnt at Cologne for having married a Jew, which, in some countries, was a crime equivalent to adultery, according to the laws of those days.

In Utrecht, and the different places belonging to the Episcopate, the Jews resided till the year 1444, at which time they were driven completely out of the town. In later times, till the revolution of 1795 in Holland, a residence in Utrecht was still forbidden, while in the neighbouring village of Maarssen the Jews were numerous and influential.

Holland, Zealand, and Friesland received, about the same period, their Jewish population from Hainault, where many Jews had sought refuge after their banishment from France by Philip the Fair. We find William the Good, in 1304, not only favouring the Jews, but zealous for converting them by means of the clergy. The Jews, in later times, are more than once mentioned in the history of these countries. The house of Burgundy seems to

have been less favourably disposed towards them, and, under Charles V., their sojourn in Holland was forbidden by repeated edicts. In subsequent years, the Jewish population in Holland was much increased in consequence of their banishment from Spain and Portugal ; of which an account will be given in the next Book.

We have not yet noticed the Sclavonian nations in connexion with the Jews. It is only in the centuries succeeding the middle ages that this history acquires an especial interest. But very few were settled in Russia during this period, and they seem to have come to Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, as emigrants from France and Italy. They were already to be found at Prague before the end of the tenth century. Boleslaus II., soon after the national reception of the Gospel, granted them permission to build a synagogue, in recompense for the assistance they gave in his wars with the Pagan inhabitants.

The Jews have existed in Poland very early, and in great numbers, and they are distinguished by peculiar characteristics. Among their coreligionists in other countries they have the reputation of extraordinary sagacity,—a sagacity which, at their *nocturnal*

studies, they employ in elucidating the Bible, Talmud, and Cabbala; and which, in their *daily occupations*, they turn to account by their clever and often cunning management of trade, which in that country is exclusively in their hands.

The beauty of the Polish Jews, both men and women, is remarkable, partly as the characteristic feature of their nation, and partly as an endowment which they share in common with the population of that interesting country. In the earlier centuries, the Jews enjoyed very peculiar privileges and exceptions, for which they were in great part indebted to Boleslaus V., Duke of Poland (1264). His great-grandson, King Cassimer, showed them still greater favour, out of love, it is said, for Esther, a beautiful Jewess. Synagogues, academies, and Rabbinical schools, have always abounded in Poland; and the civil and criminal judicature over their own people was granted to the Jewish synagogue. Banishment and persecution rarely occurred, except by an invasion of Tartars and Muscovites. To the Jews in Poland belonged the peculiar privilege, that any one of their nation who embraced Christianity and distinguished himself in the army, became by right a noble.

To this day, many of the Polish nobility acknowledge their descent from Jewish families. Privileges elsewhere conferred upon the nobility alone, were in this country granted even to unbaptized Jews.

One peculiar feature in the history of the Jewish population of Poland is, that some of them belong to the sect called Karaites. It appears that still greater favour was shown to them than to the Rabbinical Jews, because of their aversion to the Talmud, their nearer approach to Christianity, and their esteem for Jesus Christ as a teacher. The Karaites seem to have come into Poland from Tartary; and King Stephen, in the year 1578, published an edict in their favour. Recent information on the subject leads us to think that the Karaites have been so highly praised, more from a feeling of antipathy to the Talmudists, than because of any great superiority of virtue or civilization on their part.

We shall conclude, with Italy, our survey of Europe during the middle ages,—a country well known from ancient times as the residence of a great number of Israelites. At this period, Rome, under the temporal government of the Popes, first engages our attention; and if, during the period of which we have

been speaking, the Jews at Rome were not in a state of eminent prosperity, at least they were free from great persecutions. They lived, it is true, isolated in their ghettos, and neither their Rabbins nor their Talmud gained them any favour with the head of the Romish Church ; nevertheless, the Popes generally appeared kindly disposed towards them, both in their own temporal dominions, and in those of Roman Catholic Sovereigns. We have already said, that they stood forth more than once as protectors of the Israelites when menaced and ill-treated throughout Christendom. The Popes, however, did not all act upon the same principles ; Gregory I. (the Great), in the seventh century, proved himself the friend of Israel, both in his writings and decrees, because of the magnificent promises given to the Church of Christ in charge for the ancient people of God ; whence Gregory VII. (the famous Hildebrand), in the tenth century, was their enemy.

In the other great towns of Italy, the position of the Jews varied ; but in general they met with favour, especially at Leghorn and Venice ; to a less degree in Florence. At Genoa, on the contrary, they were looked upon with enmity. We hear hardly anything of

the Jews in Italy before the tenth century ; in the twelfth they began to gain influence and importance by their wealth, owing mainly to their commercial enterprise, but also to banking speculations, and sometimes (as in Germany and elsewhere) to their hateful usury. Nowhere, however, was there less reason for complaint on this score than in Italy, since Lombardy sent forth throughout Europe bankers who far exceeded the Jews, both in their cunning and their cupidity. Complaint was more than once made in that age, that where the Jews did not manage the financial operations, usury was carried on to a more hateful excess by nominal Christians. It was even reported that the magnificent city of Florence owed much of her riches to this iniquitous source. Though the oppression suffered by the Jews in Italy was comparatively moderate, yet here, as elsewhere, their unpopular practices brought upon them at times bursts of popular fury. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Bernadino Thomitano, a monk, of Feltre, more out of hatred for their usury than their religious errors, stirred up the populace against them. It is to the indefatigable exertions of this monk we are indebted for the institution of loan banks

(*monte di Pietà*), a name which still brings to mind this Lombard origin.

Persecutions of the Jews have taken place from time to time in the kingdom of Naples, where they settled about the year 1200. The Portuguese Jewish historian, Samuel Usque, speaks of one in particular about the middle of the eighteenth century, the result of which was, the compulsory baptism of a great number of Jews, and the conversion of their synagogue into a church dedicated to St. Catherine.

Jewish literature, theology, and Hebrew learning, prospered more in Italy than in France during the middle ages. Eleazar Ben Jacob Kalir was distinguished as a poet, and many interesting pieces of his composition have been preserved in the Jewish Liturgies of Rome and elsewhere. He is supposed to be a native of Cagliari, in Sardinia. In the eleventh century, when the Jews and their studies met with little consideration, Rabbi Nathan Ben Jechiel presided over the Hebrew Academy at Rome, and undertook a work which has attained celebrity even among learned Christians of a much later date. His Lexicon of the Talmud, entitled, "Aruch," has not only been highly extolled by Bartolocci,

but evidently forms the groundwork of Buxtorf's celebrated Chaldee, Talmudic, and Rabbinical Lexicon.

In the thirteenth century, the era of revival for classical literature in Italy, Jewish science and poetry successfully developed itself. Emmanuel Ben Salomo, born at Rome in the beginning of this century, is looked upon as one of the greatest and most elegant poets of whom the Jewish nation, during their dispersion, can boast. His "Mechabberoth," or collection of poems, offers some specimens of amatory verse, a kind of poetry little in use among the Jews; and this, together with a certain lightness of manner in applying texts of Scripture to worldly subjects, has, perhaps, injured his reputation among his own countrymen. Some have termed him the Voltaire of the Jews, but we think he does not deserve either the credit or the discredit of such a comparison. He has written, besides, many serious and even religious poems, as well as commentaries on the Pentateuch, the Book of Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, and other books of Scripture.

To the following century belongs the foundation, at Bologna, of a school, since much celebrated, which owes its rise to the family of

the Hannaarim, of Bologna. The same family also built, in that town, one of the finest synagogues in Italy. In other respects, the fourteenth century does not offer many instances of literary reputation among the Italian Jews. In the fifteenth century, on the contrary, the studies of medicine and theology flourished among them. Elias Levita, a Jewish philosopher and writer, who taught at Padua, stands, as it were, on the boundary between the middle ages and a new era in the history both of Israel and the Gentiles. It is not known with certainty, whether he was of German or Italian birth, but his works on the subject of the Masorah have gained for him the highest celebrity. At the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth century, a new element streamed, as it were, into the Jewish population of Italy, from Spain and Portugal. In what manner the relics of Jewish inhabitants, banished from the Peninsula, established themselves both here and in other parts of Europe, transplanting at the same time the flourishing science and learning of their fathers, we shall relate in that portion of the history of Israel's dispersion which we have reserved for the third Book of this Sketch.

BOOK III.

THE name of *Sephardim* (Spaniards) is still borne by the descendants of those Jewish families who, after an interesting and even glorious sojourn of fourteen centuries, were irrevocably banished from Spain in 1492, and Portugal in 1497.

As the whole Jewish people during their dispersion have preserved unchanged their national faith and character in the midst of the nations, so the Jews who emigrated from the Spanish Peninsula preserve their original identity amid their own brethren in all parts of the world.

It is not a difference of faith which distinguishes them from the rest of the children of Jacob, but a diversity of historical remembrances.

We will now take into consideration the peculiar associations connected with their ancient residence in the Peninsula, which have been preserved among the Spanish Jews,

and which have caused the Sephardim to be considered, and to consider themselves, as the aristocracy of the dispersed people of Israel. One of these distinctions is their daily use of the language of the country of their former glorious exile, which has been handed down from generation to generation, in whatever part of the world they may have subsequently settled. To some of these Jews their own Scriptures are more familiar in the older Spanish than in the original Hebrew, and their descendants long wrote both prose and verse in Spanish, or Portuguese, while dwelling in Italy, the Netherlands, England, Africa, Constantinople, or even Jerusalem.

Until the commencement of this century, the Sephardim used both these languages in their domestic life and daily intercourse ; in the synagogue for all ceremonial arrangements, and for every part of the worship not included in the Liturgy ; in their private correspondence, their commercial accounts, and the public announcement of marriages or deaths. Spain and Portugal were still to the exiled Israelites what France, in later times, was to the Huguenots, when compelled to quit their country in the reign of Louis XIV. To the Spanish Jew, the remembrance of the

epoch passed by his ancestors in that Peninsula is, to this hour, a terrible but imposing recollection, clouded by an impression of sombre grandeur.

The relation which subsisted between the dispersed Israelites and the kingdom of Spain is unlike any we have yet recorded in the annals of "Israel and the Gentiles." We may almost liken this remarkable and deeply interesting country to the spot of ground which Gideon's fleece distinguished from all the surrounding soil. The social position of the Jews, and their national prosperity and development in Spain and Portugal, differs entirely from every position in which we have viewed them in other countries of Christian Europe during the middle ages. Not that in this, their adopted country, the Jews completely escaped the anathema which has rested on their nation since its rejection of their Messiah. History here, as elsewhere, records persecution, oppression, and finally an entire banishment, and mentions the usual accusations, which were partly deserved and partly without foundation. But even the violence of this persecution and oppression bore a more noble character, and was of a less degrading stamp than elsewhere. The Jewish history of this country presents phenomena

which we do not recognise as possible to have occurred in any other part of the world.

We will mention, first, the view taken by a modern writer deeply conversant with the internal constitution of this kingdom,* and of the peculiar position and destiny of the Jews in Spain during the period which proved most important to, and decisive of, the fate of Israel.

"This remarkable people, who seem to have preserved their unity of character unbroken amid the thousand fragments into which they have been scattered, attained, perhaps, to greater consideration in Spain than in any other part of Europe. Under the Visigothic Empire the Jews multiplied exceedingly in the country, and were permitted to acquire considerable power and wealth. After the Saracenic invasion, which the Jews, perhaps with reason, are accused of having facilitated, they resided in the conquered cities, and were permitted to mingle with the Arabs on nearly equal terms. Their common Oriental origin produced a similarity of tastes, to a certain extent not unfavourable to such

* Prescott's "History of the Reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella." Part I., chap. vii.

Compare with Jost's "*Geschichte der Israeliten*," vi., 75, 110, 184, 216, 290.

a coalition. At any rate, the early Spanish Arabs were characterized by a spirit of toleration towards both Jews and Christians,—‘the people of the book,’ as they were called,—which has scarcely been found among later Moslems. The Jews, accordingly, under these favourable auspices, not only accumulated wealth with their usual diligence, but gradually rose to the highest civil dignity, and made great advances in various departments of letters. The schools of Cordova, Toledo, Barcelona, and Granada, were crowded with numerous disciples, who emulated the Arabians in keeping alive the flame of learning during the deep darkness of the middle ages. Whatever may be thought of their success in speculative philosophy, they cannot reasonably be denied to have contributed largely to practical and experimental science. They were diligent travellers in all parts of the known world, compiling itineraries which have proved of extensive use in later times, and bringing home hoards of foreign specimens and Oriental drugs that furnished important contributions to the domestic pharmacopeia. In the practice of medicine, indeed, they became so expert as, in a manner, to monopolize that profession. They made great proficiency in

mathematics, and particularly in astronomy; while, in the cultivation of elegant letters, they revived the ancient glories of the Hebrew muse. This was indeed the golden age of modern Jewish literature. The ancient Castilians of the same period, very different from their Gothic ancestors, seem to have conceded to the Israelites somewhat of the feelings of respect which were extorted from them by the superior civilization of the Spanish Arabs. We find eminent Jews residing in the Courts of the Christian princes, directing their studies, attending them as physicians, or more frequently administering their finances.

"The *new Christians*, or *converts*, as those who had renounced the faith of their fathers were denominated, were occasionally preferred to high ecclesiastical dignity, which they illustrated by their integrity and learning."

We will now proceed to exemplify the truth of these remarks, by entering into the requisite details concerning the position and labours of the Jews in Spain and Portugal during the period to which our attention is now directed.

An interesting subject of inquiry naturally suggests itself as to the *immediate cause* of so great a difference between the position of the

Jews in this country, and in all other parts of Europe.

From facts considered individually as well as in connexion with one another, a correct answer to this inquiry may easily be found. We will first notice two points, well calculated to throw light on the subject, which are, the situation and natural formation of the country itself, and the very ancient period at which it was first colonized by the Jews.

Between Spain and Palestine there are many striking points of resemblance.* It has been said with truth, that the Israelites in the land of their fathers were placed on the confines of the east and west. Palestine, by its geographical position, and the customs of its people, really belongs to the East; yet Israel turned, as it were, the face towards the West, and bore many traits of European character. The same observations may be reversed with respect to Spain. By geographical position it belongs to Europe; but the derivation of the greater part of its population is Asiatic. The language also has preserved for centuries a certain mixture of the swelling style of Oriental imagery. This we find in the poetry of Lucan and Seneca, as well as in that of Lopedi Vega

* See Brüm. *Description de la Terre Sainte.*

and Ezcilla ; and even in quite modern times this flowery mode of expression may be traced even in the records made during the wars against Napoleon, and the struggle between the Carlists and Christinos. From very ancient times, many Oriental elements have mingled with the Celtiberian nucleus of the Spanish population. The Phœnician colonies were numerous long before Rome or Carthage sought the dominion of its shores. The Goths, penetrating by the Pyrenees, brought to this country a mixture of northern blood ; but they were rather encamped than established here. Their kings did not style themselves kings of Spain, but of the Goths in Spain. A little later, another Eastern people mixed itself with the population already derived from the same source ; for the Saracens, invading Europe, penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, and finally established themselves triumphantly in the Peninsula, which was only reconquered by degrees by the Christian natives.

One more Eastern nation occupied a place amidst the different races of Celts, Phœnicians, Saracens, and Moors. The arrival of the Jews, and the establishment of their colonies in the Peninsula, is carried back, both by

Jews and Christians, to a period of great antiquity. Without enlarging on the hypothesis, that King Solomon possessed both colonies and jurisdiction in Spain (supposed to be the Tarshish of Scripture), tradition on every side agrees in fixing the establishment of Jews in this country at a date soon after the destruction of the first temple. This tradition, detailed and adorned by Spanish historians and Jewish Rabbins, informs us, that in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, in consequence of an imaginary expedition made by this prince into Spain, many families of the tribe of Judah, and of the house of David, established themselves in the country, and built cities, the names of which still recal localities and reminiscences of Palestine.*

Church legends of the Roman Catholics in Spain and Portugal declare, that the Apostle St. James (St. Jago di Compostella, according to their tradition) preached the Gospel with

* We may add to those named in Book I., p. 40, the following names of persons and places, in which the relation between the Hebrew and the Spanish is most apparent:—Yepes, (Joppa). Tavora, (Tabor). Avila, (Abila). Gaona, (Gaon). Correa, (Core). Zacuto, (Zachut). Also Meneses, Calatayud, Geremias, Salema, Curiel, Bazan, and many others.

many signs and miracles in this country, and converted great numbers of the descendants of these Israelitish colonists, who formed the body of the first Christian Church established in the Peninsula, of which the Archbishop of Braga was Primate.

The same traditions inform us, that the Jews themselves presented to King Alphonso VI., of Leon (and I. of Castile), when he conquered Toledo in the year 1806, the copy of a letter* written by their ancestors in that town to the High Priests and Scribes at Jerusalem, dissuading them from the murder of the Prophet of Nazareth. This letter, of which both the language and contents sufficiently prove the want of authenticity, has since been deposited in the archives of Toledo. Copies of it have often been published, both in Latin and Spanish. Some have imagined that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written especially to the Jews of Zamora.

In the more enlightened views now taken of history, such tales would doubtless be banished to the regions of fable. And yet, circumstances which have been preserved in

* This letter may be read in Spanish and Latin in Wolf's "Bibliotheca Rabbinica," and in Spanish in Southeys notes to his "Roderick, the Last of the Goths."

the legendary lore of nations, though clothed with fable and exaggeration, are not, on that account alone, to be rejected as imaginary or untrue. We may prove that the form in which they appear is that of fiction and romance, without asserting as a consequence, that the facts themselves are equally unworthy of credit. The groundwork in the present instance is, the simple fact that the Jews were settled in Spain long before the destruction of the second temple; and this many circumstances prove. We may mention, among others, the coincidence in name of several places in Spain with those of Palestine, a coincidence which no hypothesis of a Phœnician or Arabic derivation could account for. Another circumstance which helps to fix the date of their settlement at a period previous to the Christian era is, that the names of Philip, Alexander, Mark, &c., though in general use among the Jews of all parts of the world, were never borne as their Jewish appellations by those of Spain and Portugal. These names were first introduced into Palestine when that country was under the dominion of the Greeks and Romans. If, then, they are not to be met with among the Sephardim, may we not naturally conclude that their ancestors were at

that time already established in Spain? We may consider the existence of synagogues in Spain more than probable, when calling to mind the passage in the Epistle to the Romans, in which St. Paul announces his intention of visiting Spain also (Rom. xv. 24—28.) We know it was generally the practice of the Apostle to the Gentiles, to make use of the synagogue as his means of communication, and thus to act upon the principle he so often inculcates, of preaching the Gospel to the Jew *first*, and *also* to the Gentile. We may add another circumstance, mentioned by Josephus,* as bearing upon this point. He says that Herod Antipas was banished, by order of the Emperor, to Spain. The Emperor Adrian also, after quelling the revolt of Bar Cochab, permitted the Jews who had escaped, or were made prisoners, to establish themselves in Spain.

The result of these various traditions seems to prove, that the Jews were already established in the Peninsula before the time of the Roman Emperors; whether they arrived there by way of Alexandria and Cyrene, or at once from Palestine, and the more distant parts of Asia. It is interesting to notice the claim

* Joseph. de Bell. Jud., ii. 9, sec. 6.

made by this portion of the dispersed of Judah to belong to the house of David. It is evident that this claim cannot be supported by any historical document; for the Israelites, formerly the people of genealogies *par excellence*, have not, since their dispersion, continued their genealogical tables. The pretensions, therefore, of these different families, whether in Babylon or in Spain, can only be looked upon as traditional. But we are wrong in supposing such a pretension incompatible with the Gospel,—as if the accomplishment of prophecy concerning the Son of David necessarily involved an extinction of all other members of that ancient and regal family. On the contrary, as the Jewish nation has not ceased to exist, since from them the Saviour of the world came forth in the flesh, so is it more than probable that since the birth of the blessed “Root of Jesse,” this house, like the whole nation, has been far rather preserved for a future period of conversion and glory in the fulness of time. The prophecies of the Old Testament manifestly allude to this. In the great day of Israel’s humiliation, before their King crucified and glorified, the house of David is mentioned among the families that will on that day

Until that time, the Visigoths in Spain had, like the Ostrogoths in Italy, shown favour to the Jews. From henceforth the Romish clergy and the Gothic kings seemed to vie with each other in multiplying edicts and laws against the Jews, laws which have been rightly designated as barbarous and absurd. Like the edicts of Justinian in the East, they excluded "the abominable sect" from all power or jurisdiction over Christians; prohibited their marriage with Christians, and the celebration of their weddings, sabbaths, and feasts, especially the Passover. Baptism was forcibly administered, and compulsion was used to make them eat pork. A fitting prelude this to the system of the Inquisition, established eight centuries later in the same country! Yet, under the Roman Catholic kings of the Visigoths, as in later times under Ferdinand and Isabella, dislike was manifested to the religion, but not, as elsewhere, to the person of the Jew. An Israelite sincerely converted to Christianity was, according to the same laws of the Visigoths, recognised as a noble, and endowed with many privileges.*

* *Judæi, qui sincero animo Christiana sacra amplectentur nobilitate atque vectigalium immunitate donati.*
—“*Manana de Rebus Hispaniæ.*” vi. 18. The effect of

The severity of the laws against Jews who were either unbaptized or baptized by force was so great as entirely to prevent their being put in force. Hence the continual repetition of laws and enactments, the total inefficacy of which soon became apparent. Those of the seventh century offer an unparalleled specimen of cruelty and instability. In the reign of Sisebert (612—617) the Jews are commanded, on pain of banishment, to embrace Christianity. Under Sisenard, the fourth Council of Toledo in the year 631 mitigated these measures of compulsion, without rescinding any of the penalties which had been previously enacted. Chintilla, in 636, exiled the Jews, as Sisebert had done; but they still remained in great numbers under Wamba (672). In 680, Erwig persecuted them; Egiza banished them upon the accusation of having entered into league with the Saracens of Africa. Witiza (in 700) recalled them, and loaded them with favours. A violent civil war, in which Witiza

this law is noticed, in ~~the~~ year 1404, by the same historian (Bk. xix. 12). Compare with Fra. Juan Benite Guardiola, in his "Tratado dé la Nobleza de Espana":—"Los convertidos a nuestra santa fè Catolica, que eran antes nobles segun su ley o setia, ritienen la nobleza de su linage, y no solo la ritienen mas aún la acrecian.

lost both his crown and his life, raised Rodrigo to the throne. With him, in the year 711, after the famous battle of Xeres de la Frontera, terminated the whole Gothic dominion, thus making way for the complete triumph of the Saracens over the Peninsula.

The Jews were suspected of having favoured and assisted the Arabs in their conquest of Spain. After all they had suffered in the preceding century from the kings of the Visigoths and the Roman Catholic clergy, neither the suspicion nor the reality of such a co-operation between Israel and Ishmael could excite any feeling of astonishment. It is, on the contrary, more than probable, judging from what took place in the reign of Egiza, the invasion and establishment of the Saracens was, in many respects, a desirable event to the Jews of Spain, and the general influence of their dominion important in its results, not only to Spain itself, but also as it affected the whole of Christian Europe.

The Ommiada Califs, in the south of Spain, soon rivalled in splendour their adversaries, the Abassides, who had succeeded them in Asia. The history of those times abounds in descriptions of the magnificence and prosperity attained by the Arabian powers in the Peninsula,

especially in the reign of Abderahman III. (912—961.) In the neighbourhood of the Guadalquivir alone, no less than twelve thousand towns, villages, hamlets, and castles might, it is said, be counted. Cordova, the Arabian metropolis, is reported to have contained two hundred thousand houses, six hundred mosques, fifty hospitals, eighty public academies, and nine hundred baths. Manufactures and every kind of industrial trade flourished; while art and science were cultivated and protected by its liberal and noble-minded princes. The Jews shared largely in the splendour and prosperity of the Arabs. They soon wrote and spoke in Arabic as well as Hebrew, and are to this day looked upon by the Christians of Spain and Portugal as their first masters in every department of science. To them in particular may be applied the saying, “That there were no dark ages for Israel.”

In a political point of view, the dominion of the Arabs in Spain was neither oppressive nor injurious. The disciples of the Koran looked with equal contempt upon the religion of the Christian and the Jew; but to persecute for religion’s sake was not in accordance with the principles of Islamism when its dominion was

once firmly established in the country. The Jews rarely suffered oppression from their Arabic conquerors, yet we may mention a few circumstances in which a contrary spirit was manifested. For example, when, in the year 1064, Joseph, the son of Samuel Hallevi, was suspected of endeavouring to propagate the religion of Moses among the Moslim, and was in consequence put to death at Granada, with some hundreds of his coreligionists. And again, in 1160, when the new dynasty of the Almohades from Africa sought afresh to impose Islamism by force upon the Christian and Jewish portions of the population. These and a few similar instances of persecution were, however, but temporary, and confined to peculiar localities. On the other hand, from the commencement of the Saracen rule in Spain, the Jews often gained access to the Mahometan princes, and obtained their favour. Thus the King, Abderahman, of whom we have spoken, had entertained honourably at his court Rabbi Chasdai Ben Isaac, the son of Rabbi Isaac Ben Chasdai, one of the most ancient Hebrew poets of Spain. Al Hakem (975) protected the Jews and their learned men, placed their principal works in his library, and had the Talmud (or more likely

a part of it) translated into Arabic. The same favour towards science and literature in general was displayed by the renowned warrior and statesman, Al Manzor Mohammed Ben Abi Amer, at Cordova, about the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. The Jews in the Arabic provinces were rarely bankers, but merchants, trading on a large scale to different parts of the East. They acted as treasurers to the Califs, but more frequently as physicians, philosophers, poets, theologians; in a word, as *savans* and men of letters.

The history of the Jews in the Christian states of the Peninsula presents us with a view of less peaceful times, but with details of still greater interest. The Jewish inhabitants of the southern part of Spain emigrated in great numbers to Castile in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They must, therefore, have expected to meet with a favourable reception in that province. Henceforward their synagogues and schools increased in number and importance, and their services became indispensable to agriculture and manufactures. Commerce was so entirely in their hands, that even under Charles V., their descendants, well known, though concealed under the appella-

tion of new Christians, still conducted with honour all the traffic carried on in the kingdom of Spain. They filled places of trust and importance at Court. It is true, that here also they belonged immediately and exclusively to the King, much in the same way as the Jews of Germany did to the Emperor; but how differently was this power exerted! A capitation tax was paid by the numerous synagogues, and presents were made to the Infant, the nobility, or the Church; while in every other respect the Jews lived like a separate nation, framing and executing their own civil and criminal jurisdiction.

As formerly in the East by the Resh Glutha, so were they now governed by the Rabbino mayor, an Israelite, usually in favour at Court, and appointed by the King. This Jewish magistrate exercised his right in the King's name, and sealed his decrees, which the King alone could annul with the Royal arms. He made journeys through the country to take cognisance of all Jewish affairs, and inquire into the disposal of the revenues of the different synagogues. He had under him a Vice Rabbino mayor, a chancellor, a secretary, and several other officers. Two different orders of Rabbins, or judges, acted

under him in the towns and districts of the kingdom. This order held good also in Portugal, which, as well as Castile, had its own prince of the captivity. The title of Don, confined during the middle ages to the nobility of rank in Spain, was also applied to distinguished Jews, not only by their own nation, but in public acts and Government documents, as we find by the ancient chronicles. Every kind of office was open to them, and they often served in the army. Of this, a memorable instance is preserved in the Arabic documents from which Don Jose Antonio Conde composed his "History of the Saracen dominion in Spain."* King Alphonso VI. (A.D. 1086) is said to have written a letter to King Yuzef, chief of the Almorarides, in which he fixed on the following Monday as the day for the battle of Talaca, because Friday would not suit the Mahometans, Sunday the Christians, or Saturday the Jews, of whom there were many in his army. Jewish records mention, besides, a member of the celebrated family of the Yachias, in command of the Portuguese army in the twelfth century. It is more than probable

* See "Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en Espana." Madrid, 1820. Lib. ii. pp. 136, 137.

also, that the Treasurer of Queen Isabella, whom the Cardinal Mendoza, himself a great warrior and statesman, presented to her Majesty as the Judas Maccabeus of his kingdom, on account of the extraordinary valour displayed by him at the siege of Malaga, was an Israelite at least by birth.*

To counterbalance all these distinctions and privileges, persecution and oppression of the Jews, as we have before observed, arose in more than one quarter. While the King, the great vassals of the Crown, and dignitaries of the Church, either from self-interest or more praiseworthy motives, protected and upheld the Jews, that class of free burghers which was represented in the Cortes, the inferior clergy, and especially the common people when stirred up by the religious orders, were their inveterate enemies. It is well known that the establishment of the Inquisition, and, soon after, the entire expulsion of the Jews, was effected by the hatred of the Dominicans. Complaint was sometimes made before the Cortes, and not without reason, of usury practised by the lower order of Jews, and of abuse of power by those of higher rank. More often, however, their wealth and influence,

* Zurita, *Anales de Aragon.* Lib. xx., c. 70. 1487.

the fruits of their skill and experience in matters of state and finance, excited the envy of the populace. This feeling of envy manifested itself first by the usual accusations of sacrilege and the murder of Christian children, but soon broke out into open rage and acts of violence. Amid the general prosperity of the Jewish nation during these centuries, the annals of different Christian kingdoms in the Peninsula are, nevertheless, stained by the relation of horrible cruelties practised at first on the unbaptized Jews, and afterwards on the new Christians. In 1212, a general massacre of the Jews took place at Toledo, while a multitude of foreign knights and soldiers were assembled in that town preparatory to a campaign against the Moors, which they thus intended to enter on, as they had previously done in Germany, before commencing their crusades in the East. Twelve thousand Jews were threatened with murder and pillage by these foreign legions, as the secret allies of the Saracens, or, at all events, enemies to Christianity. Through the intervention of Alphonso IX., surnamed the Good and the Noble,* the design fell to the ground, after

* There is sometimes a little variation between different authors in the numbers of the kings of this name.

some sanguinary skirmishes had taken place between the inhabitants of the town and the foreigners.

The Councils of the Church strove by successive decrees to lessen the influence of the Jews in the Peninsula. In the year 1313, the Council of Zamora, in Leon, vehemently demanded the revival and enforcement of the ancient ecclesiastical laws against the Jews, which consisted in revoking their privileges; excluding them from all public employment; prohibiting all familiar intercourse between Jews and Christians; rejecting all Jewish testimony against a Christian in a court of justice; prohibiting the Jews from having Christian servants; forbidding their appearance in public during the holy week; obliging them to wear a distinctive mark upon their garments; and excluding them from the practice of medicine. Moreover, tithes were

Here we speak of Alphonso IX., King of Castile, father of Henry I., who was succeeded by his cousin, Ferdinand III. The father of Ferdinand III. was also Alphonso IX., but of Leon. Alphonso of Castile is sometimes reckoned as the Eighth instead of the Ninth; while Alphonso the Wise, commonly called the Tenth, is sometimes styled the Eleventh; and the father of Peter the Cruel, usually the Eleventh, is then called the Twelfth.

imposed on their landed property ; their magnificent synagogues stripped of their pomp and adornments ; and they were also prohibited from taking interest. All these decrees, however, proved fruitless. They only served to show, even as late as the fourteenth century, the small degree of power possessed by the clergy, and the great influence exercised by the Jews. A remonstrance, urged by the Cortes (in 1213), against the election of Jews to public offices was attended with rather more success, but for a very brief period. A similar attempt made by the Cortes of Madrid, in 1309, fell entirely to the ground. Those of Burgos decreed (probably with no better success), that neither the nobility, the clergy, nor the Jews, should henceforth be employed as receivers of the taxes.

The kings of Castile and Arragon, with very few exceptions, eminently befriended the Jews during the four centuries which elapsed between the reign of Ferdinand I. and the Catholic Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. Ferdinand I., the first of the race, was almost the only one who showed enmity to the Jewish people. He took the opportunity of an expedition set on foot by the Saracen king of Seville, Abul Cassem Ebn Abud, surnamed

Almotabad. The King of Castile began the war in the year 1062, not long before his death, and peace was soon re-established with the Mahomedans. The plan he had pursued, however, was, first to pillage and murder the Jewish population, intending these outrages either as a propitiatory commencement of a war with the Infidels, to gain treasure wherewith to carry it on, or to wreak his vengeance for ill-will manifested to the Christians by the Jew, Rabbi Isaac Ben Baruch Ben Alkalia, of Cordova, who occupied a distinguished post at the Court of the King of Seville. This persecution was marked by a peculiar incident; for on this occasion the clergy took the Jews under their protection, and their conduct in so doing was applauded by a special brief from the Pope Alexander II.

Matters took quite a different turn in the following reign; for Alphonso VI. (who conquered Toledo from the Saracens) granted many valuable privileges to the Jews; among others, that of eligibility to the *officia nobilia*, in spite of the remonstrances of Pope Gregory VII. The same kindly feelings towards that people prevailed without intermission in the kings who reigned over Castile and Leon during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Alphonso IX., of Castile (A.D. 1158—1214), surnamed, on account of his valour and other excellences, the Good and the Noble, showed them still greater favour, because of his love for the fair Rachael, a damsel of that nation, who was at last slain by several knights, who conspired together to put her to death (A.D. 1196). Ferdinand II. (of Castile, and III. of Leon after 1250) surnamed, like his nephew, Louis of France, the “Saint,” is celebrated in the history both of the Christian Church and the Spanish kingdoms, for the recovery of Cordova and Seville from the Mahomedans, in the years 1236 and 1248.

Very different, however, was his treatment of the Jews from that of the French King who bore the same epithet. After the conquest of Seville, the Castilian prince granted them many favours, and large possessions in land.* No king had ever before bestowed on

* In 1797, a member of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, presented to that learned body some remarks on the ancient synagogues of Seville, and especially two waxen impressions from seals—one round, the other square, bearing the arms of Castile. One bore round the edge this inscription: “The holy assembly of the synagogue of Seville, which may God preserve, its stronghold and Redeemer.” The other bore simply the

the Jews in his kingdom such high distinction, or availed himself so much of their talents, as Alphonso X., surnamed "the Wise," and "the Astronomer," the son of Ferdinand (A.D. 1252—1284). This prince has been sometimes unjustly reproached for devoting more of his time to study than to the affairs of his kingdom ; but several victories, gained either by himself or during his reign over the Mahomedans, and his labours in time of peace for the prosperity and well-being of his country, entirely acquit him of the charge. To him the nation is indebted for a collection of laws in the vernacular tongue, known by the name of "Las partidas." He took great pains to introduce the Spanish language, instead of Latin, into all the public acts. The early efforts of Spanish national literature owe much to this prince, who took great pains to improve the language of his country : for this purpose, he caused some of the writings of ancient authors to be translated into Spanish ; such as Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and the works of Boetius and Prudentius. With the same view, and also a desire of promoting healthful civilization among his people, he names of "Todras and Levi, son of Samuel and Levi, whose soul rests in paradise, son of Israel Levi."

formed a plan for translating the Bible into the language of Castile, and the Old Testament. Learned Jews, selected by the King, were appointed to perform the task. His version, with the addition of a few corrections and changes, is considered to be the same as that printed in 1533 by the Jews in Italy, which has since been known and celebrated as the Bible of Ferrara. At all events, it is quite certain that the old version was closely followed by later translators.

The services of learned Jews were equally in request to assist the scientific labours of the King in mathematics and astronomy. Rabbi Isaac Ben Lid, Precentor of the synagogue, Rabbi Samuel, and his brother Rabbi Jehuda Bar Moses Haccohen, with Rabbi Zag, all natives or inhabitants of Toledo, wrote several interesting works, giving a view of the progress then made in astrology, the use of the astrolabe, and mineralogy. Some of these were translations from the Arabic of Ali Aben Ragel, Avicenna, Averroes, and others, and written either in Spanish or Latin. These learned men, with several other Jews, Arabs, and even Christians, to the number of fifty, were chosen by the King as his assistants in the composition of an astronomical work,

known by the name of "*Tabulae Alfonsinae*," which he achieved at a great expense, by his own personal co-operation, as a monument of the very peculiar interest he felt in this science.

Under Sancho IV., surnamed "the Brave" (1284—1291), and Ferdinand IV. (1291—1312), the successors of Alphonso IV., the position of the Jews in their dominions remained unchanged.

In the archives of the Cathedral at Toledo, a document has been found containing the amount of the contributions paid by the Jewish synagogues to the Treasury, as they were arranged and portioned out in the reign of the former of these princes.

The whole amounted to 2,100,000 ancient maravedis,* a sum equal to about 10,000 marks of gold. This was contributed by about 80,000 Israelitish inhabitants, dispersed in the seventy towns and other localities of Castile.

It is calculated that an equal number of Israelites inhabited the kingdom of Arragon; and consequently, the whole Jewish population of the Peninsula may be reckoned at

* The ancient Spanish maravedi was equal to seventeen modern maravedis.

more than half a million of souls. The cities in which they were most numerous and flourishing were in the south, under the dominion of the Arabs, and both before and after their time, Seville, Cordova, and Grenada. In old and new Castile; Toledo, Burgos, Guadalaxam, Segovia, Avila, Leon, Palencia, Zamora, Valladolid, Calatrava, Jaen. In Arragon and Catalonia; Saragossa, Calatayud, Huesca, Tarragona, Barbastro, Barcelona, Girona, Lerida, Tortosa. In Portugal; Lisbon, Santarem, Viseu, Covilhao, Porto, Evora, Faro. In all these different parts of the country, marked as the special residences of the Israelites, the Jews were to be found during the middle ages, occupying the position of the highest rank in society. Long after their exile from this their adopted country, their customs, ceremonies, and manner of life bore the same stamp, and thereby excited the envy of the multitude, as well as the astonishment of historians.

The prosperity of the Jews in Castile and the influence of their nobles reached its greatest height in the reigns of Alphonso XI. (1312—1350), and his son, Peter the Cruel (1350—1369).

In the counsels and friendship of Alphonso,

his physicians, Don Samuel Abenhacar, Don Samuel Benjaes, and Rabbi Moses Abudiel, held a permanent and distinguished place. The historians and chroniclers of the Spanish kings, as well as Jewish authors, mention a certain Don Joseph, called Almoxarife, or "the Treasurer," who, with Osorio, the Count de Transtamare, long possessed the King's unlimited favour; he subsequently participated in the fall of this favourite, being dismissed from office in 1329, at the request of the Cortes. The King was at the same time compelled to promise that he would no longer employ any Jew as a Minister of the State. It appears, he either found some difficulty in supplying their place, or met with none who could serve him better, as Don Joseph, some years after, was reinstated in the ministry.

Don Pedro, the successor of Alphonso, surpassed his father in the characteristic cruelty for which they are both noted in history, and which gave to the former his surname among the Kings of Leon and Castile. This King also showed the Jews much favour, though he ill requited Don Samuel el Levi for the faithful services he had rendered as a statesman. The ancient Spanish chronicle of King Pedro's reign gives an account of his services that

does honour to the sagacity of the Israelitish Minister of Finance ; relating in a simple style how he enriched the Royal treasury at the expense of the avaricious and dishonest tax-gatherers, compelling them by severe measures to give in their accounts and make good their receipts. Without proof given of any mal-administration or crime whatever, the Israelitish minister of Don Pedro shared the fate of many other favourites, and even near relations to the King. He was condemned to the torture, under which he expired in 1360. It appears that his disgrace did not extend further than to his numerous family, distinguished also for their immense wealth. We find, too, other Israelites mentioned at the same time as in high esteem at Court during this reign,—Don Samuel Aben Alhadoc, and Don Samuel, son of Don Meir Aben Maza, the head of the synagogue.

A Hebrew inscription of the year 1366, when the edifice was built and consecrated as a synagogue, is even now in great part legible in the Church of Nuestro Senore del Tansito, at Toledo. It celebrates one of these three Samuels, praising him as a man fitted “for war or for peace,” and mentioning his services in behalf of the Jewish nation. This Samuel

could not be the famous Treasurer of Don Pedro ; for he was put to death by that prince about seven years before the date of the inscription in the synagogue. It is therefore conjectured, that this memorial is raised to Don Samuel, the son of Don Meir. The date of the inscription, expressed in the Hebrew manner by letters, marks the seventh year of the reign of Don Pedro, to whom, perhaps at that very period, the Jews had given a remarkable proof of their fidelity, if, as many think, Prince Henry de Transtamare, who had raised the standard of revolt against the King, was then endeavouring to gain possession of Toledo. The fidelity of the Jewish population was eminently displayed towards the cruel but legitimate King of Castile, by the bravery with which the Jews of Burgos defended both the town and their own quarter against the rebels. Very soon after, the King died, and in him the direct line of the Burgundian dynasty of Leon and Castile came to an end. With his brother, Prince Henry, began an illegitimate dynasty from the same house, of which Queen Isabella was the last who succeeded to the throne.

From the unanimous testimony of the chronicles of the Church and of their own writers,

we learn how large a share of influence, wealth, and consideration was at that time possessed by the Jews in Spain. Jewish historians attached such high importance to these privileges, that they applied to this age the prophecy of Jacob, “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh come.” By Christians great complaint was made, that the very prosperous, and, in a worldly sense, glorious position of the Jews, was (I quote the words of the venerable Paul, Bishop of Burgos, himself an Israelite by birth) “not only an offence, but a great peril for simple believers, ever ready to imitate the errors of their superiors.” *

All this grandeur and these privileges were, nevertheless, not unfrequently accompanied by violent acts on the part of the populace, and complaints and protestations from the Councils and the Cortes. To satisfy their clamours, it was sometimes needful to promulgate afresh ancient decrees which had almost fallen into oblivion,—such as the limitation of Jewish places of abode to a peculiar quarter, the obligation to wear a distinctive mark, and exclusion from posts of dignity and public offices.

* *Pauli Burgensis Scrutinium Scripturarum.*

The more unlimited and severe the enactment, however, the less chance there was of its being actually put in force. Sometimes, at the instigation of the political or ecclesiastical body, a reprimand was issued to the Jews by those kings who themselves regarded them with the greatest favour. Thus King Alphonso X. reproved them for the exorbitant luxury of their habits, and Alphonso XI. forbade Christians attending their festivals.

The opposition and remonstrances of the Cortes and Councils against the influence of the Jews, and the abuses which it occasioned, made more impression on the kings of the dynasty of Transtamare. Henry de Transtamare, however, (the second of that name,) although the Jews opposed the revolt made in his favour in the reign of his brother, Pedro, seems to have paid little attention to the complaints made against them by the Cortes of Burgos. When this assembly, one day, enjoined him to dismiss all Jews from office about his person, either as physicians or ministers, asserting that their presence at Court caused trouble and civil dissensions, the new King answered, that "he himself knew what was the wisest course to take in that matter." Whereupon he con-

firmed the privileges granted to the Jews by his father, Alphonso XI., and availed himself equally of their talents and services.

More perilous times menaced the Jews of Castile and the rest of Spain under John I. (1379—1390.) The Cortes assembled at Valladolid, Soria, and Burgos passed resolutions tending to deprive the Jews of all participation in the government of the State, or the management of its finances; but the King, asserting his own immediate and exclusive rights over this people, continued to grant them his protection.

In consequence of a singular circumstance, however, their synagogue was deprived of the right of jurisdiction it had hitherto enjoyed. The chronicler of King John I. relates that some Jews, who considered themselves aggrieved by one of their own persuasion at Court, named Don Joseph Pichon, contrived to obtain a royal mandate, granting them the services of an alguazil to execute a sentence of death. As the King of Castile, according to existing customs, had often granted such mandates for the execution of sentences passed by the Jewish tribunal, he made no difficulty in signing the document thus presented, quite ignorant that it was intended for Pichon, one of the most devoted ministers

of the King, his father. The sentence of the Jewish magistrates was effectually executed by the alguazil of the King at Seville. When the King heard what had taken place, he instituted an inquiry,—put to death all who had been either directly or indirectly concerned in this matter,—and deprived the Jews of the jurisdiction they had hitherto possessed.

Under Henry III. the Jews, as before, held offices of State; and one in particular, Don Meir, physician to the King, was high in honour and trust; yet, in the same reign, especially during the minority of the King, several violent outbreaks and bloody persecutions were raised against the Jewish inhabitants of different cities. At Seville the archbishop in person stirred up the populace by a sermon to fall upon the Jews, and the tumult was with difficulty quelled by the severe measures of the civil and military authorities. In the year following, 1391, these disturbances were repeated, and the Jewish quarter attacked and burnt to ashes. This fearful example spread, as by contagion, to the towns of Cordova, Madrid, Toledo, over the whole of Catalonia, and even to the Isle of Majorca, where John I. of Arragon caused its leaders to be severely punished. The number of Jews

said to have lost their life is estimated at ten thousand, and the places in which the outbreak occurred are numbered at seventy. Many fled to Africa to escape persecution, among whom was the Rabbi Bar Zemach, of Oran, celebrated for his learned writings, and his elegies on the events of that period. Others in the terror of the moment went over to the Romish Church.

The first years of the reign of John II., who succeeded his father while yet a child (1406), were unfavourable to the Jews. A royal mandate, dated Valladolid, 1412, in a series of twenty-four articles, contained the most oppressive enactments which had ever been promulgated against them since the time of the later Visigothic kings. The Jews, and also the Moors, were thenceforth to confine themselves to a separate quarter on pain of death,—not to converse with Christians, or to have Christians in their service,—not to practise as physicians or apothecaries,—not to be high treasurer to the king, or steward to any of the nobility,—not even to work at trades for the Christians. They were no longer to have judges of their own nation, nor to observe their peculiar laws and customs; they might not even tax themselves for the maintenance of the synagogue,

nor share as they liked the taxes imposed by the King. They were ordered to wear a peculiar dress, the form even of which was prescribed to them. The title of Don was forbidden, and the power of quitting the kingdom at will taken from them. These laws were too absurd to be put in force, and the Jews knew that they possessed too much power and influence to be compelled to submit to them. Yet, though under a different name, they continued, during the reign of John II. (for nearly fifty years), and that of his son, Henry IV. (from 1454 to 1474), to retain their former connexion with the State. They were baptized in crowds in different parts of Spain, either in consequence of intolerable persecution, or, in some cases, of real conviction, of which we shall soon mention some bright examples. These families formed an entirely new body, who were long distinguished from the old Christian population by the designation of "Conversos," or New Christians. The influence of these converts became, in the fifteenth century, as extensive and important as that of the unconverted or unbaptized Jews of earlier times. They held the chief offices of State, and were about the person of the King, being especially favoured by Don Alvar de Luna, the powerful

minister of John II. The preference shown both to the Conversos and to the Jews in the reign of Henry IV. was made matter of complaint against that monarch, who naturally looked upon them as his most faithful partisans, and sanguinary contests were often the consequence. On one occasion, when the populace made an attack upon the Jews and Conversos at Jaen, the high constable, Don Miguel Lucas Iranza, who had taken their part, was put to death while attending mass. The town of Cordova and many others witnessed similar scenes of civil war, arising from religious or political jealousies. The Jews and Conversos in this time of anarchy took up arms in all parts of Castile, hired troops to defend themselves, or removed to Palma and Seville. From thence a considerable party, with Pedro de Herrera at its head, went to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and opened a negotiation with him, requesting that the town and fortress of Gibraltar might, on the payment of a considerable sum, be made over to the Conversos as their own possession. This scheme failed, owing to the interference of the people of Seville, from whom, on this account, the Jewish quarter had again much to endure. The glorious period during which Isabella,

the sister of Henry IV., with her husband, Don Ferdinand of Arragon, governed Castile, brought a complete change over the whole face of the country, and became to the Jews, and also to the New Christians, the time of a most striking crisis, the relation of which belongs to a later part of this book.

In the kingdom of Arragon, during the period of which we have spoken, the general fate of the Jews and its vicissitudes were not, as in Castile, minutely noted in the annals of the State. In the history of Arragon, also, the decrees of Councils, the remonstrances of the Cortes, the outbreaks of the populace, and the measures taken by the king, show clearly that the position of the Jews with respect to all these parties in the State was not very different from what we have observed in Castile. We may notice especially the influence and prosperity enjoyed by the Conversos, or baptized Jews, and their descendants, which was as great in Arragon as in any other part of Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

But it is now time to turn our attention, which has been hitherto directed towards the political relation of the Jews in Spain, to the far more interesting memorials which have come down to us of their literary institutions,

and their progress in science, during their residence in that country, before the close of the middle ages.

The first thing we have to consider is the theology of the Jews, their schools, and the writings of their Rabbins and commentators.

Even during the rule of the Visigoths in Spain, Hebrew literature was cultivated, and the study of Holy Scripture and of the doctrines of the Talmud preserved in the synagogues. In those early days, and in later times under the rule of the Saracens, the sources from which the Jews of the Peninsula derived their learning were the famous schools of Babylon and Persia, with which they maintained an uninterrupted correspondence. The Israelitish parents of those ages sent their sons into the East to be instructed in theology; and the synagogues sent deputations to ask advice upon questions of law and tradition, and to consult about customs, ceremonies, and institutions. The most ancient liturgies of these synagogues, especially those for the fasts and the great day of atonement, were taken from prayers and formularies composed by Rabbi Nissim, head of a Jewish academy at Babylon. Among the learned men of the period which preceded the establishment of an independent system of rabbinical theology in Spain, we

find much praise awarded to Rabbi Judah, for translating several Arabic writings into Hebrew, and composing a treatise upon Natural Phenomena, as well as to Rabbi Menahem Ben Saruk,* a learned Talmudist, and the author of a Hebrew lexicon, entitled the "Book of the Root." The manuscript of this work, together with the criticisms of a cotemporary named Rabbi Donasc, is preserved in the library of the Vatican.

We have mentioned that an entirely new and independent school of Hebrew theology was subsequently established in the Peninsula. This new foundation, which soon filled the place of the schools in the East, and outshone the brightness of their celebrity, may date its rise from about the middle of the tenth century.

We will notice, first, the place held by its Rabbanim in the long succession of schools, or generations of scribes, students of the law, and commentators, which formed the boast of the Jewish nation after the destruction of Jerusalem. At the head of all are placed the Tanaim, the sages and learned men of Israel, who assisted Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh, in the third century, to commit to writing the Oral

* Wolf and others have confused his name with that of Menahem Ben Jacob, of the fourteenth century.

Law. The later Rabbins, whose explanations and paraphrases of that Mishna formed the two Talmuds, bear the name of Emoraim, or commentators.

The Babylonian Talmud was completed (in 505) during the eighth generation of this second series of Rabbins. To the Emoraim succeeded in their turn the Rabanan Seburæ, or expounders of the Talmud. To these, who belonged chiefly to the Persian school, succeeded, near the end of the seventh century, a second division of Talmudists, called Geonim (the excellent), and also Universal Doctors, or Jewish judges. Among the most learned men of this class was Rabbi Saadias Gaon, born in Egypt in the year 892, who gained great reputation in Asia by his distinguished talents and numerous writings, both in Hebrew and Arabic. He also excited attention by his violent discussions with the Nasi David Ben Zachai, on account of a sentence pronounced by the prince of the captivity, which Gaon considered unjust. His life was threatened in consequence of this dispute, and he spent many years in retirement, entirely devoted to study, and employed in the composition of several works, which have come down to posterity. It is believed

that this learned Asiatic corresponded with the synagogue of Cordova.

While the Jewish schools of theology in the East still existed, and were in a degree flourishing, an accidental circumstance prepared the way for the subsequent removal of the seat of modern Jewish science into the West. This event and its consequences, with a little legendary ornament perhaps, is thus told :—Four learned Israelites of Pumbeditha were in a ship, which was captured by a Moorish pirate from Spain, A.D. 948. One of them, named Rabbi Moses, after having seen his wife cast herself into the sea, to escape the ferocity of the captain, was, with his son, carried prisoner to Cordova. The Israelitish inhabitants of that town soon effected their deliverance by means of a ransom. After remaining some time unnoticed, a learned discussion in the synagogue became the means of raising Rabbi Moses high in the esteem of all, and renewing the interest his fate had before excited. He was soon chosen head of that synagogue and judge of the Jews; and, becoming known, while holding this office, to Rabbi Chasdai Ben Isaac, the great protector of his nation, at the court of Miramolin, he obtained, in marriage for his son, a daughter of

the powerful house of Peliag, thus laying a prosperous foundation both for his own descendants and for the Jewish schools of Spain. When the Persian school of the Geonim came to an end in the eleventh century, in the person of Rabbi Hai Bar Rab Scherira, the schools of the Spanish Rabbanim took its place, as the centre of Jewish civilization and learning. Soon Toledo and Seville, then Saragossa, Lisbon, and a great number of other cities, shared in the glory of Cordova. At Toledo alone, the number of students in Hebrew theology is said to have sometimes amounted to twelve thousand: the number is no doubt exaggerated, but the exaggeration itself proves the high idea that was formed of the extent to which the study of Hebrew literature was carried on in the ancient capital of Castile.

From the commencement of the eleventh century to the end of the fifteenth, nine ages or generations of Rabbanim are reckoned in Spain, each generation named from a head of the synagogue, or some other distinguished student of the age. Though Rabbi Moses of Pumbeditha passes for the founder of the new school at Cordova, the first generation of Rab-

banim is not considered to begin with him, or his son, but with Rabbi Samuel Hallevi, surnamed Hanragid, or the Prince. He is looked upon, in general, as the first Rabbino mayor, or prince of the captivity in Spain (A.D. 1027). He held at the same time a high office under Habuz Ben Moksan, the Mahomedan prince of Granada; and, for the space of thirty years, successfully employed his riches, talents, and influence for the good of his nation in Africa, Sicily, and Palestine, as well as the Peninsula. He caused many books to be copied, at his own expense, and presented to those synagogues that could not afford to purchase them. He often addressed in person a numerous auditory, and may take rank among the poets, as well as the learned men of the Sephardim, in those days. To the first generation of Rabbanim also belongs the philosopher and jurist, Rabbi Samuel Cophni Haccohen, of Cordova, whose exposition of Deuteronomy still exists in manuscript. Another Rabbi Samuel, of Barcelona, a cotemporary of the two others, distinguished himself by the efforts he made to annul the old rabbinical decrees against the study of Greek literature. Another doctor of Barcelona, Rabbi Judah Ben Levi

Barsili, wrote, not long after, a treatise on a subject but imperfectly understood in the East,—the “Rights of Woman.”

The second generation of Rabbanim begins with the succession of Rabbi Joseph Ben Samuel Hallevi to his father's dignity of Rabbino mayor in 1056. The persecution which we have before mentioned as occurring in Granada, in the year 1064, is said to have caused the massacre of 1,500 Israelites, among whom perished their nagid, or prince—this same Rabbi Joseph. It is owned by the rabbinical authors that he was worthy of such a fate, on account of his intolerable haughtiness. His son, Abraham, who was offered the choice between embracing the religion of Islam and death, chose the latter. With him were put to death also the two sons of Kiskiah, the last Resch Glutha of Bagdad.

The third generation of Spanish Rabbanim is distinguished by the life and works of five learned men, who all bore the name of Isaac. At the head of the five Isaacs is Rabbi Isaac Ben Jacob Alphesi, or of Fez in Africa, from whence he was raised to the dignity of prince of the captivity at Cordova, where he had taken up his abode. He died at Lucena, in 1103, at the age of ninety. Among his works

the most worthy of note is his Abridgment of the Talmud, upon which the celebrated Yarchi wrote a Commentary. The others were Rabbi Isaac Ben Baruch, surnamed "the Mathematician," in high esteem for his proficiency in that branch of science at the Court of the King of Granada: as a theologian he was a bitter enemy of Alphesi and his opinions, but was reconciled to him on his death-bed. Rabbi Isaac Ben Moses; Rabbi Isaac Ben Giath, a poet and professor at the school of Cordova, who brought up Azariah Hallevi, one of the sons of the Nagid Rabbi Joseph, killed at Granada. Lastly, Rabbi Isaac Ben Reuben, also a poet and professor, but yet more celebrated as the father of Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman.

The fourth generation commences during the twelfth century, and is adorned principally by Rabbi Joseph Ben Meir Hallevi, named also Aben Megas, the successor of Rabbi Isaac in the schools of Cordova. He died in 1141, leaving as his chief disciples, his own son and nephew, both named Meir, and the celebrated Maimonides.

The ornaments of the fifth generation were Maimonides, of whom we shall afterwards speak more at length,—and his cotemporaries,

Aben Ezra, Moses and David, the sons of Joseph Kimchi, Rabbi Judah Aben Tibbon, Rabbi Joseph Ben Tzadick, the poet and judge, who ended his days at the head of the remnant of the Jewish people in Babylon. To the same period also belongs Rabbi Abraham Hallevi Ben David Ben Dior, a native of Toledo, surnamed the First, to distinguish him from a contemporary of the same name at Naples. He was the author of the "Sepher Hacabbala," a book containing much valuable information concerning the history of the learned men, and Rabbanim of the dispersion.

The sixth generation began at the close of the twelfth century, and owes its greatest lustre to the life and writings of Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman (Ramban), who became one of the greatest poets of his age, and to another Rabbi Moses, called Micozzi, from his birthplace in Italy, but long established at Toledo, and author of a learned dissertation on the 613 commandments of the Mosaic and Oral Law.

The seventh generation is that of Rabbi Solomon Ben Adereth, called Arisha, of Barcelona; Rabbi Gershon Ben Solomon, also of Catalonia; Rabbi Perez Haccohen, the Cabalist; and Rabbi Jedidiah Happenini Badrashi, the poet.

The eighth generation began in the year 1300, when Rabbi Asher, a German by birth, established himself at Toledo, and was there chosen, on account of his great learning, head of all the schools and synagogues in Spain. His son, Juda, succeeded him in 1328, in the same city to which the Jewish academy of Cordova had been removed since the year 1249.

The ninth generation of the Rabbanim includes the latter part of the fourteenth, and almost the whole of the fifteenth century. The head of the synagogue (a dignity quite distinct from that of prince of the captivity, though more than once held by the same individual) during this period was, first, Rabbi Isaac Campanton, who died at the age of 103; and afterwards, his chief disciple, Rabbi Isaac Aboab, of Castile, surnamed the last of the Geonim, who left that kingdom after the edict of banishment in 1492, and took refuge in Portugal, where he soon after ended his days.

The biography of all these learned men among the Jews, of whom, not individuals only, but whole families, have gained a high repute as commentators, Talmudists, poets, and philosophers; with a catalogue of their works, written both in Spain, Portugal, and the

countries to which they were afterwards banished, have formed materials for many volumes. Even a small selection from the multitude of their names and the titles of their books, classed according to their contents, would much exceed the bounds of this little volume, without being absolutely essential to the object it has in view. Two names, however, which we have already mentioned in the nine ages of the Spanish Rabbanim, cannot well be passed over without more especial notice. These are Aben Ezra and Maimonides, both equally appreciated by the learned, whether Jews or Christians,—the former, chiefly as a commentator on the Old Testament, a poet, and a traveller; the latter as a jurist, a theologian, and a philosopher; both gifted with wealth as well as talent,—at that time rarely united in the same individual.

Abraham Ben Meir Aben Ezra was born at the commencement of the twelfth century, (probably in 1119,) at Toledo, of a family already distinguished by more than one name of eminence in the Jewish history of the Peninsula. Posterity has surnamed him, by way of distinction, Hachacham (the wise); and learned Christians have also done full justice to his

genius and extensive learning. Taking into consideration the age in which he lived, he was really eminent as a commentator, grammarian, philosopher, cabbalist, physician, mathematician, astronomer, and poet. Gifted with some portion of wealth, he was enabled to gratify a taste for travelling, which he possessed in common with many of his coreligionists of that period. This taste, which belonged peculiarly to the Jews of the middle ages, is worthy of remark, as presenting a striking contrast to the life led by the monks and Roman Catholic clergy of that period. This desire of becoming personally acquainted with a world in which they met with so much hostility—this persevering diligence in study, carried on amid the fatigues and excitement of foreign travel—and, lastly, the desire to ease, as it were, their position as wanderers, by becoming really so, is especially observable in the character of Aben Ezra. The various places from which he dated his different works show, in the literal meaning of the word, that they were composed by a wanderer on the earth. One of them was written at Mantua, another at Rome, another in London, and a fourth in Greece. He visited also the land of

his forefathers, and held discourse with the learned men of Tiberias upon the Masoretic text of the Old Testament. He died on his return from this pilgrimage, in his seventy-fifth year,—about twelve years earlier than Maimonides, who, with many others, esteemed and admired him. As a commentator on Scripture, he is valued, without exception, by all. He made good use of his great talents as a linguist, and was skilful in detecting the meaning of the text; while his expressions were elegant, and sometimes lively, and full of wit. His works have always been favourably received among Christians, and by them his Commentaries have been translated into Latin. Complaint is made, however, of the obscurity of his style, which has required comments to be written upon his Commentaries. He also highly distinguished himself as a poet; he has left sacred poetry, hymns, and prayers, some of which have been added to the Liturgy of the Sephardim. His hymn on the soul is a poetical development of the rabbinical idea, that each night during sleep, the soul, released from the body, gives account to the Most High of the works done during the day. He has left also other descriptions of poetry,—as Epithalamiums, Satires, and even a copy of

verses on the game of chess,* which, with two other poems on the same subject, were translated, and published in Latin, by Hyde, at Oxford, 1694. It is said that the Spanish version of the Old Testament, printed at Ferrara in the sixteenth century, was only an improvement upon more ancient versions; among others, that of Aben Ezra. The Spanish language was at that time far less studied by the learned Jews than Hebrew and Arabic.

Equalling Aben Ezra in the extent and variety of his knowledge, though perhaps his inferior in character and genius, Maimonides, his cotemporary, has, without doubt, made a more forcible and decided impression upon the whole views of posterity, especially among his own nation. When we have given a few

* The game of chess was deeply studied, and gained much favour with the Jews. Among those of the Peninsula there were three distinguished champions,—Aben Ezra, Rabbi Ben Senior Aben Zuchia, and, probably, Bedrashi, the poet, who, however, has written on this subject in prose. He wrote in the thirteenth century in praise of this ingenious and warlike game, especially as a means for the prevention of gambling and card-playing. Cards must, therefore, have been known in Spain before the reign of Charles VI. of France, for whose amusement, during his madness, they are usually said to have been invented, in the fifteenth century.

particulars concerning his character and biography, we will endeavour to point out the nature of this influence, and the kind of feeling that was awakened in the synagogue by the theology of this doctor.

Rabbi Moses Ben Majemon, or, with the Greek termination that has since been affixed, Maimonides, and among the Jews, by a peculiar species of abbreviation with which they are familiar,* "Rambam," was born at Cordova, in Spain,—at that time in the possession of the Arabs, 1139.

His father, Majemon, held the dignity of Judge of the Jews in his native city, as other members of the family had done for some centuries previous. (His genealogy is found in one of his works, ascending in the male line thus:—Moses, the son of Majemon, the Judge, son of Joseph the Wise, who was the son of Isaac, son of Joseph, son of Obadiah, son of Solomon, son of Obadiah,—all Judges.)

Moses himself, born of his father's first

* The Jews are accustomed to designate their chief Rabbins and writers by composing a word formed of the initial consonants of their names, prefixing the initial of their title of Rabbi. Thus Moses Ben Majemon is called by them Rambam,—a name we must distinguish from *Ramban*, the similar abbreviation of Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman.

marriage with a woman of inferior rank, was in childhood treated with contempt by the rest of the family, and by his father with a degree of severity, on account of his apparent stupidity. Having been for a time confided to the charge of Rabbi Joseph Aben Megas, or, according to some, to his son, Rabbi Meir Ben Joseph, at Lucena, he returned to his father's abode so much improved in learning and polished in manners, that contempt was exchanged for admiration. From that time, he applied himself to the study of Arabic, astronomy, and medicine, under the celebrated Averroes. In the science of medicine he afterwards excelled, and published several works on the subject. From this learned Arab the son of the Hebrew Judge received his knowledge of Aristotle, whose works were brought into Europe by the Arabs, where they gained an influence which for many centuries pervaded the whole of Christendom.

The events which happened both to Averroes and Maimonides, and nearly at the same time, bore a singular coincidence. Averroes, first placed at Cordova as magistrate by the African prince of the Mohadites, commenced delivering in that city a public course of instruction, by which he gained many personal enemies.

Accused of having spoken with disrespect of the Koran, he was stripped both of his dignity and fortune in 1163. In this distress he sought a refuge among the Jews of Cordova, some say even in the house of Maimonides. Soon after this escape, he fled from that city and took refuge at Fez, in Africa, where he was compelled to undergo a humiliating penance at the door of the Mosque, and to recant some of his opinions considered adverse to the religion of the Koran. He afterwards returned to Cordova, where he was soon reinstated both in his former dignity and his office of professor, which he continued to exercise during the space of forty years. About the same time Maimonides was compelled by persecution to quit his Spanish fatherland. A party among the Jews, discontented with African rule, sought an alliance with the Christian sovereigns, especially King Alphonso VIII., of Leon and Castile. Maimonides, at all times disinclined to look favourably on Christians, and, alas! also on Christianity itself, preferred remaining on the Saracen territory in Spain, and consented to an outward conformity with the rites of Islamism, in preference to seeking refuge in a Christian country.

As soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself he escaped to Africa, and after a short residence at Morocco, established himself in Egypt. There, for some time, he traded in precious stones and medals. When the Turks, after completing their conquests in Asia, overthrew the reigning dynasty in Egypt, and established their dominion in that country, Maimonides attached himself to one of their generals, to whom he became both physician and counsellor. By this means he was soon after brought to the notice of Salaheddin Yuzaf Ben Ayub, formerly vizir of Bagdad, who became after the year 1171, Sultan, or (as he was more usually called) King of Egypt, and taken into his service. He filled the same post at the Court of this prince, and consequently remained at Cairo till the day of his death, in 1208, with the exception of a few years spent in disgrace and exile, caused by the odious accusations of his enemies, that he had attempted to poison the Sultan. He is said to have spent all the time of his banishment in a cave; at all events, he devoted it entirely to his studies, the fruits of which have filled many volumes. He was afterwards recalled and reinstated in the favour of the Sultan. He has given us a

sketch of his way of life during forty years, when his time was divided between his practice as a physician, his employment at the Court of Egypt, and his diligent and extensive labour in his study. It is preserved in a letter written by him to Rabbi Samuel Aben Tibbon,* the diligent translator of his Arabic works into the Hebrew tongue:—

“ The residence of the King and my abode are situated at some little distance. Every day I am obliged to appear at Court; if the Sultan, or one of his wives or children are ill, I remain there the greater part of the day. If all are well I return home, but never before noon. Then having dismounted and washed my hands, I find the house filled with people; Jews and Gentiles, rich and poor, merchants and magistrates, friends and enemies, await me. I request their permission to take some food, which I only do once in the twenty-four hours. After that, I converse with each of my visitors, and prescribe medicines for them. Meanwhile, people are continually coming in and going out, so that

* The family of the Aben Tibbons was distinguished from father to son by their translation of the Arabic works of those learned Jews, who, for many years, wrote chiefly or entirely in Arabic.

it is generally two hours after dark before all the attendance ceases; I then throw myself on a couch, exhausted with fatigue, and take a little repose. You may imagine that, during all this time, no Israelite can come to me for private intercourse on religious subjects. It is only on the Sabbath, when the greater part of the synagogue come to me after prayers, that I can give them any directions for their conduct during the week. Then we read together a little until noon, after which some return to me, and we read together again till the time of evening prayer. This is my usual way of life. Do not think, however, that I have completely described it. When, by the help of God, you may be able, after having finished the translation for the use of your fathers, to come and see me here, you can convince yourself, by your own eyes, of the truth."

How this learned Jew, in the midst of such overwhelming occupation, could find the leisure requisite to collect and digest materials for the numerous and voluminous works which have flowed from his pen is indeed astonishing. His books amount to more than thirty in number, and some of them are of great magnitude. To name a few of them will

give an idea of the wide field of his studies, and the variety of subjects on which he wrote. A commentary on the Mishna was the labour of his youth, begun while he was yet in Spain, and concluded in Egypt in his thirtieth year. This book was written in Arabic, and soon after translated into Hebrew by several learned Israelites. Ten years later he composed, in very elegant Hebrew, his *Yad Hakazakah* (the powerful hand), which contains the whole doctrine of the Talmud methodically arranged, in fourteen books. Of a later date is his *Moreh Nevochim* (guide to the doubtful), a work in which he brings forward his whole interpretation of the Law and the Talmud with the greatest clearness. We shall soon have occasion to notice the effects produced by this work on the synagogues during its author's lifetime and the succeeding generation.

His writings are various on many subjects besides Jewish theology; some have been printed, and others still remain in manuscript: they treat of medicine, natural history, and astronomy; one, entitled "A Letter to the Jews of Marseilles," appears written to controvert the opinion which then prevailed concerning the influence of the heavenly bodies on the events of life. His work on logic has

since found a commentator and admirer in Moses Mendelssohn, who, eight centuries after Maimonides, was, in more than one point, the upholder, and apparently the successor to his views. We possess, besides, the voluminous and interesting correspondence of the Rabbi of Cordova.

Maimonides died in 1208, at Cairo, universally looked up to during his life-time, and regretted at his death by all the synagogues of Africa, Spain, and elsewhere. Happier, in one respect, than his cotemporary and friend Aben Ezra, whose son embraced Mahomedanism, Rabbi Abraham, the son of Maimonides, succeeded him in the esteem of all the synagogues, who conferred upon him the title of Nagid, or Prince, of Spain, which was continued to the grandson of this great man, the son of Rabbi Abraham, named Rabbi David. This celebrated Egyptian Rabbi was buried at Tiberias, which he had visited with the intention of ending his days there. Among the Jews, the praise of Maimonides has passed into a proverb: "From Moses (the lawgiver), to Moses (the son of the judge), there arose not a Moses."

The writings of Maimonides, though highly esteemed by posterity, have only gained real

influence over a small minority of his co-religionists, at least in as far as relates to the important reformation in religious belief which he endeavoured to bring about, and the philosophical bent which he tried to give to rabbinical Judaism. This attempt caused, for a time, discussions and agitation in the synagogues; but these ideas never took deep root either in that century or any that succeeded it. To form some idea of this system, and of these discussions and their results, it will be necessary to say a few words upon the character of the Spanish and African synagogues of the Middle Ages,—a character decidedly opposed to any philosophical tendency, notwithstanding the light with which, in other respects, they appear highly gifted.

Conformably to the name which distinguishes the schools of the Spanish Rabbanim, and with their position as successors to the ancient schools or academies of Palestine, Babylonia, and Persia, the theology of their learned men was entirely based upon the authority of the oral law, and its elucidation by means of the Talmud.

For one moment only the supporters of tradition were threatened with a defeat from the Karaites. This sect, whose head quarters

were in Palestine, had penetrated through Africa as far as Spain, and at the commencement of the twelfth century had gained such an influential party among the learned, and at the same time such decided support from the temporal power, that for a moment they appeared to possess the means of excluding and persecuting their Talmudical opponents. The tables were soon turned, however, when Rabbi Judah, a decided Talmudist, was appointed Major-domo to King Alphonso, the Eighth of that name, often styled "Emperor of both the Spains." This Rabbi employed all his power and used all his influence against the Karaites, who, from that time (1157), were compelled to leave the country. Neither did they succeed in gaining any favour with the great Jewish doctors of Spain and Africa. Rabbi Abraham Ben Dior, whom we have before mentioned, wrote against them with great vehemence in defence of tradition. With equal energy, but less vehemence, they were opposed by the poet, Judah Hallevi, in his Khusam. Aben Ezra, though numbering a Karaite of distinction among his instructors, was, nevertheless, very far from attaching himself to their sect. Maimonides spoke against them with great zeal in Egypt, though

he acknowledged at the same time the great merit and high character of some of their teachers. His son, Rabbi Abraham, brought over a whole synagogue of Karaites to Rabbinism. Al Charisi, whom we shall soon have occasion to mention as a poet, was wont to say of the Karaites, "that they preserved the tree, but cast away the fruit."*

Thus deeply rooted in the minds of the Jews and their teachers was a conviction of the indissoluble tie subsisting between the law and their traditions! This conviction is not to be wondered at. It is perfectly natural, while the veil on the heart of the Israelite prevents him from receiving the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the accomplishment and completion of the Old Testament, he should yet feel the need of some *sequel* to the Mosaic dispensation. As for Maimonides, though, like his brethren, opposed to the doctrines of the Gospel, yet with a mind too highly enlightened to be enslaved by Jewish tradition, he sought to form a system of his own, which, however, proved equally unprofitable in its results.

Brought up in the Arabic school of Aris-

* The sect of the Sadducees had for some time a number of adherents in Spain, principally at Burgos.

totle, and as it appears still more devoted to the works of Plato, his chief aim was, without quite overthrowing traditional Judaism, to base the establishment of its principles upon philosophy rather than upon revelation. The immense labour he undertook in arranging, purifying, and concentrating the whole body of Talmudic theology and jurisprudence, was with this aim, and in accordance with these views. We shall in this respect also observe in later times the similarity of mind and purpose between Moses Maimonides of the twelfth, and Moses Mendelssohn of the eighteenth century.

Such a system, though cautiously worded and introduced, and even carried out, from the religious feelings of its author, and of the age in which he lived, with the greatest apparent respect for the actual historical revelation of the Old Testament, could not fail of exciting a suspicion as to its consequences among the orthodox members of the synagogue.

Immediately after the publication of the *Moreh Nevochim*, during the life of its author, discussions began in the Jewish communities of France, and afterwards of Spain. The first outcry was raised at Montpellier, where Rabbi Salomon and two of his disciples, Rabbi

David and Rabbi Jonah, brought against the work an accusation of heresy, both in respect of the Talmud and the Word of God.

The book was in consequence condemned, and sentence of excommunication pronounced against any one who should read it, or any other work imbued with the Greek and Arabic philosophy. The synagogues of Spain were soon divided into two great and formidable parties. The most celebrated teachers formed a decided majority in favour of Maimonides ; while Rabbi Judah Ben Rabbi Joseph Alphacar, of Toledo, equally esteemed as a physician and a theologian, took the part of his antagonists, the French Rabbins. A correspondence was consequently established between Rabbi Judah and Rabbi David Kimchi, the well-known commentator on the Old Testament ; and even the most decided friends of Maimonides must confess, that the arguments they used were well grounded, and their style of writing full of a vigour and beauty from which even the vehemence of their expressions could not detract. The letter of Rabbi Judah plainly proves, that the system of Maimonides, by its arbitrary explanations and inventions, attacked the authority, not of tradition only, but also of Holy Scripture. Other

learned Jews have not hesitated to suspect Maimonides of a design to weaken the basis of the two fundamental doctrines of the Jewish religion,—the resurrection of the dead, and the expectation of a Messiah, although he has placed both these dogmas in his celebrated table of the thirteen articles of 'Jewish belief.

However, the party formed against Maimonides and his writings was soon obliged to give way to the undoubted majority and great superiority of his admirers. The sentence of excommunication passed in France was revoked, and the name of Maimonides yet more highly honoured as a star of the first magnitude among the learned men of Israel during their exile. Nevertheless, we do not find that the system introduced by this remarkable man has ultimately pervaded, to any great extent, the mass of Judaism, or even influenced the doctrines of its teachers. Rabbinism continued as much after as before the time of Maimonides, to exercise dominion over the synagogue. His writings, however, contributed greatly to extend the horizon of Jewish theology in the southern countries. It is very possible that the many conversions to Christianity of which we read in the annals

of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the effect, humanly speaking, of that deficiency of real religion which was sensibly felt when minds were agitated by the discussions concerning the system and doctrines of Maimonides.

The warfare stirred up in the synagogue by the writings of Maimonides between philosophy and religion was, however, no novelty. Neither did it cease after the momentary triumph gained by his friends.

In the days of Rabbi Asher, head of the synagogue of Toledo, about a century after the time of Maimonides, grievous complaints were uttered by the Rabbins of Spain on the progress of Infidelity, and indifference in matters of faith, caused by the influence of Greek philosophy, Rabbi Salomon Ben Abraham Ben Addereth, of Barcelona, a friend of science, whose character had gained him the esteem of all parties, considered the complaints against an unbelieving system of theology so well founded, that he issued an edict forbidding the study of Greek philosophy to all Israelites under twenty-five years of age. The students of medicine were alone exempted from this prohibition, to which was attached the penalty of excommunication. The reasons for this

prohibition given in the edict are indeed curious. "There are," says this document, "certain semi-philosophers of Provence, who have given cause for the coercive measures it was necessary to make use of. These men have not feared to profane Holy Scripture by an absurd system of allegorical interpretation."

We might imagine ourselves in the age of Strauss and Dupin, in reading the examples cited as the ground of these complaints:—"Abraham and Sarah are to be looked upon only as allegorical personages!—the twelve tribes of Israel are symbols to express the twelve signs of the zodiac!—the Urim and Thummim, astronomical instruments!—the battle of the four kings against five, in the Book of Genesis, is only a myth, or allegorical representation of the influence of the four elements on the five senses! The whole history of the creation is a fable!"

It will not surprise us, after this, to hear, that not only the severe and narrow-minded Rabbinism of Rabbi Asher, with his numerous and powerful followers, but also the party who favoured worldly science, and to which the greater part of the Spanish synagogues belonged, thought it necessary to take measures against the introduction of similar doc-

trines. At length the ancient school of tradition gained the upper hand among the Jews of the Peninsula, without, however, destroying the influence of science and philosophy, or entirely excluding these studies.

It is to the Jews of Spain and Portugal that we are especially indebted for the preservation and practice of medical science during the middle ages. Jewish physicians are often mentioned in the history of that period, and notice taken in all countries of their scientific knowledge as well as practical skill. The number of these doctors was as remarkable as their talents, and we meet with them in the exercise of their profession at the Courts of the Caliph and Sultan, as well as the Pontiff. The writers of the present time who look upon the Jews as the princes of medical science in the middle ages, have chiefly in view those of Spain and Portugal.* If, as many say, the family of the Aben Zoars were Jews by birth as well as religion, then the honour of having educated Averroes in the medical science belongs, from the avowal of that great man himself, to the Jewish nation.

Whether this fact be ascertained or not, the

* See E. Carmshy's interesting work, "Histoire des Médecins Juifs anciens et modernes. Brussels, 1844.

Jews of Spain were, with the Arabs and some few of the Roman Catholic clergy, the chief preservers and professors of the science of medicine. We have already mentioned some of their Rabbins who were thus distinguished, but we may name many others, both among the professors of Judaism and the Conversos. Rabbi Moses Abdalla, of Cordova, wrote, in Arabic, a book on medicine, of which a manuscript copy is still preserved in the library of the Escurial; and in Hebrew, a commentary on the aphorisms of Hippocrates,—of which a manuscript copy exists in the library at Leyden. Rabbi Isaac, in the eleventh century, wrote some books in Spanish on “fever.” Rabbi Moses Ben Jeshudah Aben Tibbon, in the twelfth century, translated into Hebrew some Arabic writings on the subjects of medicine, jurisprudence, philosophy, and astronomy. In the same century Rabbi Jonah Ben Ganach, of Cordova, called by the Arabs, Abn Walid Marun Ben Ganach, gained great distinction, both as a linguist and physician.

The decrees of Councils, however, often repeated, availed little towards excluding the Jews from the practice of medicine even in France and Italy, much less in Castile, Arragon, and Portugal. In the first-mentioned

of these Spanish kingdoms we find an uninterrupted succession of Jewish physicians to the King, also employed by them in the affairs of the State. For example, the marriage settlements of Henry IV. of Castile, brother of Isabella, with the Princess of Portugal, were drawn up by a Jewish ambassador, Rabbi Joseph, the King's physician. In Arragon, during the same century, an Israelitish physician, Abiathar, of Lerida, gained great renown by curing the blindness of King John II., at the age of eighty. This cure is the first instance of the operation for cataract which has been recorded in the history of medical science. The physician ventured to perform the operation upon one eye, and having completely succeeded, felt some hesitation in proceeding; but the resolute and courageous old King compelled him to risk an operation on the other also. In Portugal the names of Jewish physicians are rarely wanting among the officers of the King's household. The dignity of "Physico-môr," or first physician, was instituted by King John I. of Portugal, in 1385, and bestowed first upon the Jewish physician Micer Moses, together with great privileges for himself and nation. Other Jewish professors of medicine were treated with

similar consideration until the reign of King Manuel. When the Jews were banished from Portugal, in the year 1497, the New Christians—concealed or baptized Jews and their descendants—continued to distinguish themselves as professors of medicine; for example, Dr. Manuel de Fonseca, and his son, Dr. Lope de Fonseca,—whose daughter, Ginebra, was burnt by the Inquisition on a charge of Judaism; Dr. Geronimo Menes Ramires, whose posterity, with that of the Fonsecas, were for two centuries both numerous and distinguished among the Jews of Hamburg and Amsterdam. Other celebrated practitioners, who emigrated from Portugal, also established themselves in these cities. Dr. Joao Rodrigo, of Castellobranco, called Amatus Lusitanus; Dr. Abraham Zacuto, (Zacutus Lusitanus,) author of the “History of Celebrated Physicians;” Dr. Immanuel Jacob Rosales, upon whom the Emperor of Germany bestowed the dignity of Count Palatine; and Dr. Rodrigo de Castro, were equally known by their writings and celebrated for their enlightened views during the early part of the seventeenth century. Two sons of the last-named physician rose to eminence in the same profession, Dr. Bento (Baruch), and Dr. André

(Daniel) de Castro; one was physician to the Court of Queen Christina, of Sweden, the other to the King of Denmark. At Amsterdam an uninterrupted series of physicians has risen from the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue during the last two centuries. Among them, besides Zacutus and Rosales, were Dr. Bueno Bibas, consulted at the Hague in the last illness of Prince Maurice; Drs. Orobio de Castro and Semah Aboab, both father and son, with many others, too numerous to mention here, before Dr. Immanuel Cappadose in our days.

In France, also, the Jews from Provence, or from the Peninsula, frequently distinguished themselves in the medical profession. A Jewish physician was called in to Francis I., and is said to have been the first to recommend the use of ass's milk. The poet Nostradamus, well known on account of his singular predictions, was the descendant of a Jewish physician at the Court of King René, of Provence. A little before the time of Nostradamus, another physician, of Jewish birth, followed the Constable of Bourbon in his exile from his king and country. The son of this physician was the celebrated and distinguished Chancellor of France, Michel de

l'Hopital, at the end of the sixteenth century, equally celebrated for his Christian virtue, and his great talent as a legist and statesman. Catherine de Medici in those times sought to the Jews more for astrology than medicine. In both these capacities were Jewish emigrants from the Peninsula received by Mary de Medici, wife of Henry IV., of France; among their number was Dr. Elias Rodrigo Montalto, who died at Paris, and was afterwards removed for interment to the Portuguese Jewish cemetery of Onverkerk, in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam. In the eighteenth century, Dr. de Sylva, a Portuguese Israelite, was highly celebrated in France as a physician; he was one of the very few upon whom Voltaire, the great enemy of Israel, bestowed, both in his poetry and history, some words of praise.

The celebrity gained by the Jews of the Peninsula in the knowledge and practice of medicine is honourably sustained at the present time by their coreligionists of German extraction. We shall have occasion to notice, in a later period, how they have succeeded their brethren of the south in many different departments of science and erudition, and have, in many respects, surpassed them.

We rarely find mention made of a Jewish theologian or physician in Spain and Portugal, during the Middle Ages, who was not at the same time either a poet, astronomer, or mathematician—often all these at once. The study of astronomy, at that time looked upon as almost inseparable from judicial astrology, was, by the learned Jews, turned to most valuable practical account. We shall soon have occasion to remark upon the share they took in the maritime discoveries of Portugal, by the application of astronomy to the purposes of navigation. The learned Jews of the Peninsula often visited distant countries, and accomplished lengthened voyages. We may give as an instance a well-known Rabbi of the twelfth century, Benjamin of Tudela, whose "Itinerary" has been the subject of much diversity of judgment. Its singular narratives and palpable mistakes have sometimes given rise to a doubt whether its author had really made the journey, or had not rather chosen this form to relate the observations of others, gathered from different sources. In our days, deeper investigation has certified the reality of the voyage, and the actual truth of many of its details, which are, however,

mixed up with much that is fabulous, and accompanied by many incredible tales.

We must add, to the learned Jewish astronomers already mentioned, the name of Rabbi Abraham Zacuto, professor of astronomy at the Academy of Salamanca, his native town, till the year 1492, when, having fled to Portugal, he was favourably received by King Manuel, and raised to a post of honour at his court. He made a perpetual almanac, dedicated to the Bishop of Salamanca, which he published at Leiria, in Portugal, A.D. 1495. His name is well known in Rabbinical literature as the author of the "Sepher Yachasin" (book of genealogies), a valuable source of reference for the history of the older rabbinical theology and the schools which succeeded it. He was ancestor to the physician Zacutus Lusitanus before mentioned.

That the general revival of literature and science among the Jews of Spain was owing to the influence of the Arabs, is an established fact, easily taken for granted in every branch we have hitherto discussed. We cannot disallow the existence of this influence even over the Hebrew poetry which was written in Spain. Without doubt, poetry was inherited

by the Israelites, as a gift pertaining to their history and their race (which they surely had no need to borrow from the sons of Ishmael), who were in possession of all the treasures of poetry and of language contained in the books of Holy Scripture committed to their care. Yet we cannot deny that Arabian example and models greatly assisted to revive the poetic genius of the dispersed Israelites, at a time when this talent was on the point of being lost, choked amid the brambles, and enveloped in the mists of Cabballistic and Talmudic subtlety. Some influence over the Hebrew poetry of the Spanish Jews is attributed to the writings of an Italian predecessor, Rabbi Eleazar Ben Jacob Kalir. However this may be, it is certain that the Spanish schools of poetry profited greatly by the example of their neighbours the Arabs, in the study of language and composition, as well as in the knowledge of rhythm. Although the modern poetry of the Israelites during their dispersion is no more to be compared with the sacred poetry of their fathers, than a fruit dried or artificially preserved through the winter can rival the same fruit in summer freshly gathered from the tree, yet this school of Hebrew poetry, flourishing during five centuries in

Spain, forms a striking feature in the modern history of the Jews. In beauty and elevation of style it certainly deserves the preference over any cotemporary efforts made by the French or Italians, and its celebrity has continued undiminished in spite of the master-pieces of Hebrew poetry which have arisen in our time from Germany. We will now glance our eye over the *Coryphæi* of the Spanish school of poetry, which reached its greatest eminence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

We have before mentioned Rabbi Chasdai* Ben Isaac as high in repute at the Court of Abderhaman III., in the latter half of the tenth century. An idea may be formed of his character, and the nature of his poetical talent, from his letter to Joseph, the Jewish King of the Chasars. Doubts have been raised both as to the existence of such a kingdom, and to the authenticity of the Hebrew Rabbins' letter. Later researches seem to have partly

* The name fully written is Chasdai Bar Isaac Bar Ezra Bar Schafut. Bar and Ben (sometimes Aben) in Hebrew, and Ibn in Arabic, signify son. Aben is more often used by the rabbinical writers to denote the family name, as Aben Ezra, Aben Tibbon, Aben Dana ; and Ben, Bar, and Ibn, to express the immediate relation between father and son.

confirmed and partly modified Jewish tradition on this subject. Kings who held the Jewish religion appear to have reigned over the country of the Chasars, or Chosars, a Turkish race dwelling on the western borders of the Caspian sea. These kings, whose subjects were either Christian or Mahomedan, seem to have first embraced Judaism in the eighth century.* The report of this kingdom was calculated to excite a lively interest among the Jews, both of Spain and the East. Rabbi Chasdai's letter, the authenticity of which has been well corroborated, gives a short account of the poet himself, and the position he filled at the Court of Cordova: it describes the general condition of the Jews in Spain, and gives some details as to the nature of that country. The Rabbi expresses the wish he felt to receive a similar communication concerning the Jews in the country of the Chasars. The introduction is in rhyme, and according to the Hebraico-Arabian style, forms an acrostic of the author's name.

* Karamsin, in his "History of the Russian Empire," Book I., throws most light on this kingdom of the Chasars, while Basnage suspects that it never existed. See Jost's "Geschichte der Israeliten," vi., 111—120, and note to page 365.

To this century also belongs, with some names of less distinction, that of Rabbi Isaac Ben Chalfon, an admirer and distinguished student of his national poetry; also that of Rabbi Joseph Ben Isaac Ibn Stanas Ibn Abitur, from whom the Caliph Al-Hakem requested a translation of part of the Talmud into Arabic, and who is chiefly known in the annals of the Spanish Jews by his discussions with Rabbi Moses, of Cordova, who excommunicated him. In consequence of this sentence, he resided abroad, and ended his days at Damascus. His poetry, like that of the greater part of the Hebrew school of Spain, was intended for religious worship, and as such has been added to the Liturgy of the synagogue. A keduscha, or song of praise, on the "three holy" of Isaiah (vi. 3), is considered as his masterpiece: this theme, with many variations and different prefaces, is frequently repeated in the Jewish prayers.

Rabbi Isaac Ben Jehudah Ben Giath, whom we have already named, is one of the most distinguished of the Hebrew poets in Spain. He gained repute also as a philosopher, physiologist, cosmographer, and astronomer, according to the measure of light which had been thrown upon these sciences at

that period. As a poet, he is admired for his striking and well-turned sentences, and his exquisite taste in the use of language; but on the other hand, his style is thought too highly finished, and too much laden with scientific ornament, which has caused it to be compared to the Alexandrian school of Greek poetry. His critics have, however, unanimously joined in praising his penitential hymns, found in the Liturgies of many synagogues for the services during the month that precedes the new year. Painfully characteristic is the mixture of truth and error in one of these hymns, proceeding from the pen of a poet who still disowns his Messiah: After reminding the pious, when preparing for their evening devotion, that the only foundation of their trust was in the mercy of God, not in their own works, he adds, "Now devout prayers must fill the place of the ancient sacrifices." He composed also hymns for the Feast of the Passover and the great Day of Atonement, with a poetical paraphrase of the biblical narrative of Elijah's prayers on Mount Carmel. To Isaac Ben Giath succeeded as poets Rabbi Joseph Ben Jacob Ibn Sahl, his disciple, who died A.D. 1124, at Cordova; and his own son and grandson, Rabbi Jehudah and

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Rabbi Solomon Ben Giath, both looked upon as masters of the art by such judges as Al Charisi and Judah Hallevi.

Among the Hebrew poets of Spain in the eleventh century, we may mention also Rabbi Bechai Ben Joseph Ben Pekudah and Rabbi Moses Ben Jacob, of the distinguished family of Aben Ezra. Rabbi Bechai, surnamed Hazaken (the old) and Hadayin (the judge), is principally known by a religious work on the "Duties of the Heart," written in a kind of poetical prose, but considered as a poem more on account of its sublimity of style and language, than for its actual versification. He wrote it in Arabic, and apparently from Arabian models. A Hebrew translation was made first by Joseph Kimchi, and then by Rabbi Jehuda Ben Samuel Aben Tibbon; a Portuguese translation was made from the Hebrew by Rabbi Samuel Ben Isaac Abaz, at Amsterdam, in the seventeenth century. As a Hebrew poet, Rabbi Bechai is especially famed for a poem on "Self-examination," translated into Italian by a Jewish lady, Deborah Ascarelli, of Rome, and by Dr. Sachs, of Berlin, into German verse, together with some other specimens of modern Hebrew poetry.

Still brighter fame as a poet is awarded to Moses Ben Ezra, who is also equally celebrated as a learned Talmudist, and a professor of Greek philosophy. Although, like his brother poets, he excelled in sacred song; he also tuned his lyre as an inhabitant of the west, and sang at times of love, but more often in praise of the beauties of nature.* He was a cotemporary of the celebrated Rabbi Jehudah Ben Samuel Hallevi, who bestowed due need of praise upon him and some other members of his noble and learned family. We shall soon speak more at length of Hallevi the poet "*par excellence*," but we must first give a few particulars concerning Rabbi Salomon Gabirol, who, in the order of time, should have preceded Moses Ben Ezra.

Rabbi Salomon Ben Jehudah Gabirol is unanimously allowed to have far excelled all the other Jewish poets of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Born in 1031, either at Malaga or at Saragossa, where he afterwards resided, his life was as short as his talents were brilliant, and his end tragical. His death is said to have been caused by the sanguinary envy of an Arabian rival in song,

* Alexander von Humboldt, in his "Kosmos," ii., 119, has praised his sublime description of natural scenery.

and the legend tells, that the young poet was buried by his murderer under a fig-tree, which produced in consequence so great an abundance of fruit, of such exquisite flavour as to attract the attention of the Caliph, and lead to the discovery of the body, and a detection of the crime which had been committed! The poet Gabirol is only known to us by his writings, which show him to have been a man of deep feeling, great poetical talent, and extensive learning. His first work reminds us of the saying of a great poet of our own days: "It matters little to the true poet, if it be the alphabet or the Achilles of Grecian story which awakes his powers." Gabirol, in his nineteenth year, wrote a Hebrew Grammar in verse—a work which Aben Ezra has since pronounced worthy of the highest praise. The following ideas taken from the introduction may lead us to form some estimate of the poetical imagination of its author. In this part of the work, the author complains "that the study of the sacred tongue, honourable above all others, had been too long neglected, so that by a great multitude of his brethren the words of the prophets were no longer understood." At this thought, the consciousness of his own youth neither could nor should

restrain him. A voice cried within him, “Gird thyself for the work, for God will help thee ! Say not, I am too young ; the crown is not exclusively reserved for old age. He will make use of poetry to render this labour attractive to the eyes, like a garden of flowers ; for his hope was great that that language may again be studied in which the inhabitants of heaven sing the praises of Him who clothes himself with light as with a garment ;—this language, formerly spoken upon earth by all men, before the foolish ones were scattered, and their speech confounded ;—this language became the inheritance of God’s people under the tyranny of Egypt ;—in this language the law of God was promulgated, and the prophets brought healing to the afflicted nation. He would they were jealous, like Nehemiah (xiii. 23—25), for the purity of the language of Israel.” He then expresses his indignation that the mistress should have been reduced to the state of the servant, and the lawful wife to that of the concubine.

The poetical talents of Gabirol were exercised on many different subjects ; hymns, elegies, confessions of sin, descriptions of the future. In all these, we find a noble and affecting echo of the poetry of his ancestors.

The Kether Malchut (or, royal crown) is looked upon as his masterpiece,—a poem which the pious Israelite recites during the night passed in watching and prayer before the great Day of Atonement. This poem, in honour of the goodness and power of God, after a brilliant introduction, contains first, a description of the universe, rich in details, which give us much interesting information on the ideas held by the Talmudists concerning the laws of creation; then follow praises of the greatness and wisdom of God, as manifested in the construction of the human body; he then dwells, with equal richness of language and poetry, on the nothingness and misery of human nature, and the necessity for humiliation before God on account of sin. The whole closes with a prayer for the temporal and eternal preservation of Israel, their restoration to their country, and the rebuilding of their sanctuary, and this is followed by a magnificent doxology.

The history of Jewish literature during the twelfth century is adorned with the names of many Hebrew poets, both in Spain and Africa. Rabbi Aaron Ben Rabbi Joshua Alemani, at Alexandria; Rabbi Salomon Abu Ajab Ibn Almalam, whose verses, in the words of Al

Charisi, “made the dumb to sing, and caused light to strike upon the eyes of the blind;” Rabbi Chalfon Hallevi, of Damietta, called in Arabic Abu Said; Rabbi Levi Ben Jacob Altabban, with his brothers at Saragossa, and many besides. All these poets kept up an interchange of friendship and correspondence with one another, and with him who was considered by all to have surpassed his predecessors and cotemporaries,—Rabbi Judah Ben Samuel Hallevi. Al Charisi has expressed his feelings on this subject in the following language, not, however, without considerable exaggeration in the choice of his figures:—

“The poetry of Judah the Levite is like a diadem on the head of the synagogue, and a necklace of pearls around its neck; it is the pillar of the temple of poetry; he is the man armed with a lance, who overthrows all the giants of the art; his songs take away courage from the prudent: he has exhausted the storehouse, he has carried off precious spoil; he is gone out and has closed the door after him, so that none may enter. All the poets who follow him have his words in their mouth—he rends the heart, he takes possession of it by his songs of supplication; his lays of love

are gentle as the dew, yet fervent as the burning coal. In his letters and his writings all poetry is contained."

Excepting the year of his birth (1105), and its locality at Castile, we have no records of the life of Judah Hallevi, and no details, beyond a few interesting notices gathered from his own works. From these we learn to appreciate him, not as the prince of poets only, but as one of the most interesting characters we meet with in the history of modern Judaism. The master feeling which accompanied him through life, and gave a peculiar turn to his mental efforts, was a strong affection for the spot where the temple of Jehovah once stood, and this feeling pervaded the whole of his poetry. He eventually undertook a journey to Palestine, and, according to the relations of his biographers, he reached the threshold of Jerusalem, but died before entering its gates, being trampled down, as tradition tells, by the horse of an Arabian Moslem while he was chanting an elegy on the misfortunes of Judah and Jerusalem before one of the gates of that city. More modern biographers have classed this tale among the Jewish legends of the Middle Ages, and give as their opinion that he died

during a stay in Egypt, while on his way to Jerusalem. It is, at all events, certain that he never entered the city, the object of his affections, and this gives a still more touching interest to the account he himself gives of the emotions of his heart, from the time he formed a resolution to accomplish his vow of pilgrimage. He expresses, with much feeling, the yearning of his soul towards the land of his fathers in the following lines of one of his poems:—

“In the west is my body, while my heart is in the east.

What has long been the joy of my hope, now becomes a lengthened torment.

Ah, shall I ever obtain what my soul has so long desired !

I who live among Ishmael, while Edom possesses Zion !

What is Spain to me with her blue sky and her bright fame ?

In comparison with a little dust of that temple which is trodden under foot by the Gentiles.”

A friend of Hallevi’s, also a poet, tried, by a poetical epistle, to dissuade him from this perilous enterprize. He answered him by a poem, in which he complains “ that the graceful verses of the letter he had received concealed daggers to wound him, and that thorns

were hid beneath the softness of its fine expressions." For further satisfaction, he refers him to those of their fathers who had journeyed in that country which had received the immediate revelation of God, and his heralds the prophets. He ends by exhorting his cool adviser against that Greek wisdom which had always been inimical to any depth of religious feeling, and which must ever continue incompatible with the foundations of Judaism.

Other poems of Hallevi are dated after the time when he really began his journey. When at sea, he called to mind, with affection, all the members of his family—his brothers, sisters, daughters, the synagogue of his country, and the place he had filled in it; yet still the longing desire to behold the land of the altar and of the ark of God remained uppermost in his mind. "If he can but accomplish his vow, the sight of jackals and hyenas would be rather welcome than terrible to him, and the roaring of the lion a more pleasing music than the bleating of flocks." His last poetry was written in Egypt, where this celebrated writer received an honourable and hospitable welcome. We have already mentioned his end. His writings, besides his hymns, many of which are incorporated in the Liturgy of

the synagogues, consist of elegies, epithalamiums, and paraphrases on verses of the Psalms, with a work in Arabic prose, which has gained great celebrity. This book, named "Khusari," is an apology for Judaism, in the form of an imaginary dialogue between a king of the Chasars and an Israelitish Rabbi, who supports the cause of the Talmudists against the doctrines of the Karaites and the philosophy of the Gentiles. A later version of this work was made in 1560, by T. Buxtorf, the son, and a Spanish translation by the Portuguese Rabbi Jacob Abendana, in England (A. D. 1663).

Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman, born at Girona, in Catalonia (1194), and also famed for his poetry and learning, was more successful than Rabbi Judah in the attempt which he also made to visit Palestine, where he ended his days in 1267. In a letter to his son, he gives an account of the feelings excited by his residence in that country. "My son Nachman," he writes, "may the Lord bless you, and grant you to see the peace of Jerusalem, and your children's children. I date this letter from Jerusalem, the holy city. I give thanks and praise to the God of my salvation, that I was enabled to reach this place in safety on

the ninth of the month Elul. I have remained here till now, the day following the Great Day of Atonement. My plan is, to visit Hebron, to cast myself upon the sepulchres of our fathers, and there to prepare my own tomb. What can I say of this country? Great is its desolation and its sterility. The more holy the spot, the more completely is it abandoned. Jerusalem is the most degraded of all—Judea more so than Galilee. Yet even in its desolation it is a blessed country. The city contains 2,000 inhabitants, 300 of whom are Christians, who have escaped the sword of the Sultan. Since the invasion of the Tartars, no Jews have been settled here. Only two brothers, dyers by trade, are Jews. At their house we assembled, to the number of ten, and celebrated the Sabbath with prayers. We have now succeeded in procuring a deserted house, with marble pillars and a fine vaulted roof, and have transformed it into a synagogue. The city has, properly speaking, no government, and he that wishes may take possession of the parts that are unoccupied. We have contributed the needful expense to ensure possession of the house for the purpose I mentioned. We have also procured from Sichem some volumes of the law, which had

been concealed there at the time of the Tartar invasion. Thus, we shall have a synagogue, and shall pray here. Men and women flock from all parts to Jerusalem—from Aleppo, Damascus, and all parts of the country, to behold the sanctuary and to weep. May He who has permitted me to see Jerusalem in her desolation, grant that we may see her restored, rebuilt, and filled with the glory of the Lord. May you, my son, see the welfare of Jerusalem, and be witness of the consolation of Zion!" The letter is ended by remembrances to his disciples, and especially to his nephew, Rabbi Moses Ben Salomo, an elegy of whose composition had been recited by Moses Ben Nachman on the Mount of Olives.

Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman left many other writings which testify that, considering the age in which he lived, he was remarkable as a thinker, expounder, Talmudist, and especially as a student of the Cabbala. In the division of the synagogues caused by the writings of Maimonides, he took the part of the latter, probably more on account of the esteem he felt for his character, than from any great sympathy with his opinions. In 1263, he held a public conference on religion with Paul

Christian, said by some to have been a converted Jew. As a poet, he is chiefly famed for one magnificent hymn, used by many of the synagogues in the service for the first day of the year.

The study of Hebrew poetry, which was carried to the highest degree of eminence by Judah Hallevi, appears to have perished amid the disputes of the succeeding century, leaving fuller scope to the development of Jewish doctrines and traditions. We will mention two more names, which though they cannot take rank among poets of the first order, yet deserve some notice.

One of these is Judah Happenini Ben Abraham, called Bednaschi, from Beziers, the native city of his father. He first saw the light at Barcelona, in 1250, and is ranked among the Hebrew poets of that time as being the author of a few pieces, which are more esteemed for the ingenuity and studied labour of which they bear the marks, than for any intrinsic poetical merit. For instance, in one of these poems, every word begins with the letter M. He has a better right to the title of "Orator," given him by his brethren, while Christian writers have compared him to Seneca, Lactantius, and Cicero. He owes

this honour to his work, entitled “ Bechinath Gnolam ” (Examination of the World), a discourse, or letter, concerning the vanity of all earthly things, and the seeking of the kingdom of God. The learned Philip Aquinas,* an Israelite converted to Christianity in the seventeenth century, wrote a French translation of it. Great praise has been bestowed both on the work itself and the way in which it is treated by its French translator, as well as by Buxtorf,† and other competent judges. Rabbi Judah Happenini, who was a great advocate for philosophical studies, vehemently opposed the sentence of excommunication pronounced by Rabbi Salomon Ben Addereth. He is also said to have composed a work of some extent on the game of chess, under the designation of “ the royal delight.”

We will end with a few words upon one more Jewish poet of Spain,—Rabbi Jehudah

* Philip (formerly Mordecai) Aquinas died in the year 1650, at Paris, where he had taught Hebrew and translated several rabbinical books for the use of Christians. His son, Louis Henry, was also a great Orientalist. His grandson, Anthony Aquinas, was first physician to Louis XIV.—See Bayle's Dictionary.

† Liber insignis tam quoad res, quam quoad verba, ut eloquentissimus habeatur, quisquis stylum ejus imitatur.—Buxtorf.

Ben Salomon Ben Alcophni, more generally known as Al Charisi (the poet), whom we may designate as the Horace of that school. The exact dates of his birth and death are not known, but there is no doubt that he belonged to the thirteenth century. Descended from poetic ancestors, and, like Maimonides, belonging to a part of Spain then subject to the Mahometans, the Arabs were both his instructors and his models. His principal work, the "Tachmonite," is not exactly a translation or imitation of their Hariri, though written in the style of the Arabian poet. The "Tachmonite" contains fifty sections, partly prose and partly verse, in the form of dialogues and discourses on the most varied subjects. Al Charisi wrote an interesting history of the art of poetry in Spain, with talented remarks on the style and writings of the different poets. With the opinion he passed on Judah Hallevi, we are already acquainted. His precepts of the art of versification are not less worthy of note. He recommends, in the first place, purity and severity of diction, not overgrown with a mixture of strange weeds, for which he blames the Grecian Jewish poets; regularity in versification; unity and utility in the choice of a subject, and the manner of treating it;

lastly, clearness of expression, “which is not to be found among the French Jews, who need a commentator to explain their works.” He desires the poet “not to publish immediately to the world the fruit of his talents, lest it should prove abortive;” “neither must he give all he has to the public, but only the best.” Lastly, he must be popular in his language, and not write only for the learned, like Rabbi Salomon, who pleases only the latter, while ordinary readers cannot understand him.”

Al Charisi himself has obtained the reputation of an excellent poet, principally for the poems inserted in the “Tachmonite;” among others, the “dispute between the sword and the pen.” He also practised as a physician; and, like others of his countrymen, was a great traveller.

The poetry of the Jews in the language of their forefathers had reached its height and also its decline in Spain by the end of the thirteenth century. It is true that this study was not entirely neglected by the Jews of the Peninsula, even after their expulsion; but Hebrew poets of note arose no more among the Sephardim. It is remarkable, however, that shortly after the decline of this great

celebrity, poetical talent was revived among them, though in a lower degree of excellence, and clothed in the ancient language of Castile, as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. Don Santo de Carrion, a rabbi converted to Christianity, was distinguished as one of the most famed troubadours of the age.* Many of his poems and discourses on religious and moral subjects remain in manuscript in the library of the Escurial; among them are his "Counsels to the King," written for Don Pedro the Cruel, exhorting him to follow the example of his father and live a Christian life. He has given an account of his conversion, and of his faith in the doctrines of the Church, in the preface and introduction to his "Doctrina Christiana."

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, and in the reign of John II. of Castile, a passionate admirer of every kind of chivalrous exercise and of the poetical art, with which they were so closely connected, Juan Alonzo de Buena, secretary to that King, dedicated to him a collection of the songs, poems, and epigrams of the troubadours, both ancient and modern, among whom were reckoned Juan Alonzo himself and his brother, Francisco,

* Rodriques de Castro, Biblioth. Espag. 198—201.

both Conversos. In this collection of the ancient poetry of Castile there are poems written by Jews by religion as well as by birth, one of whom, named Don Moses, was surgeon to King Henry III.

In later centuries we shall find Spanish poetry carried to some degree of perfection by the exiles of the Peninsula at Hamburg, and in the Netherlands; while in Spain and Portugal it was still cultivated by their descendants, either really converted to Christianity or concealed under its outward profession. Among these Jewish poets we may name Doctor Miguel de Silveira, who wrote, in the seventeenth century, an epic poem on Judas Maccabeus, in the style of Tasso and Camoens. The completely Christian style, however, both of this and other smaller poems by the same author, give the impression that he may have belonged to the nation, but never to the religion, of the Jews. Duarte Diaz, of Porto, who lived at Antwerp, in the sixteenth century, a descendant of the ancient Jewish family of Aboab, and Antonio Henrico Gomez in the seventeenth, who showed great poetical talent both in Spanish and Portuguese, were professors of Judaism. The latter was, in France, made a knight of the order of Saint

Michael, and became counsellor to Louis XIV., but he afterwards fell into the hands of the Inquisition in Spain, and seems to have been condemned to the flames for his Judaism. The same fate is said to have befallen Antonio de Sylva, one of the most ancient dramatic poets of the Peninsula.

The details we have hitherto given concerning the social position of the Jews in the Peninsula, and their advancement in science, may have afforded some pleasure to the Christian who loves Israel for their fathers' sakes, yet there is a mixture of bitterness in the thought, that these gifts, these talents, and these privileges, were enjoyed not only apart from any faith in their true Messiah, but even in opposition to that faith. Their history in Spain happily offers some far brighter pages. It is worthy of note, that, while no country in the world used such violent and tyrannical measures to bring the Jews over to Christianity, neither did any other produce so many bright examples of sincere and undoubted conversion; no country has yet witnessed so numerous a body of devoted Christian Israelites! Whatever may have been the cause of this effect, and whether perhaps in part owing to the greater equality of rank, and more fre-

quent intercourse between the members of the Church and those of the synagogue in Spain, it is certain that in no other country, either during the middle ages or even in our own time, have the words of the apostle (Rom. xi. 5) been so fully realized; in the midst of Israel's rejection and hardness of heart there was always "a remnant according to the election of grace."

Among the sons of Israel who have confessed the Christian faith in Spain, and fought the good fight, either in the ranks of the Church or on the field of theology, one of the earliest examples is Julian, Bishop of Toledo, who flourished in the latter part of the seventh century, while the country was still under the dominion of the Goths, before the Saracen invasion.* Great praise is awarded to him by the historians of that period, especially for his writings and labours as a bishop. He took part in the great theological disputes of his time concerning the twofold will of Christ, a question on which this bishop, or rather the

* "Erat Julianus eruditio[nis] laude e[st]ate celebris, ut ejus libri testantur. Fuit ex Judeorum sanguine progenitus, Eugenii tertii discipulus, Quirini Toletani Presulis successor, ingenio facilis, copioso, suavi, probitatis opinione singulari."—Mariana, VI. 18.

Council of Toledo at which he presided, expressed themselves quite independently of the Bishop of Rome.* He has left, as the fruit of his labours, several works; a book written against the errors of Judaism, besides commentaries, sermons, hymns, and sacred poetry, with a history of the wars of King Wamba. The life and praises of Julian were written by Bishop Telisc, his successor in the see of Toledo.

Another Christian Israelite, of less elevated rank in the Church, Alvaras Paulus, of Cordova, flourished in the middle of the ninth century, and is principally known to us by his letter to a certain Eleazar, who had passed from Gentile idolatry to Judaism. When taking up the defence of the Christian faith, he confesses at once his own Jewish origin, and his belief that Messiah was already come, and then continues:—" Which of us has the most right to the name of Jew; you, who have passed from the worship of idols to the knowledge of one God,—or I, who am an Israelite both by birth and faith? Yet I no longer call myself a Jew, because that new

* "Nobis (Juliani disputatio) aliquanto liberior visa est, quam ut Juliani modestiam erga Romanum pontificem summæ Ecclesiæ rectorem, deceret."

name is given to me which the mouth of the Lord hath named! Abraham is in truth my father, but not only because my ancestors proceed from him. Those who have expected Messiah should come, but who also receive him because he is already come, are more truly Israelites than those who, after long waiting for him, rejected him when he came, and yet cease not to expect his coming."*

Rabbi Samuel Jehudi, of Fez, in Morocco, affords another instance of sincere conversion to the Christian faith. An interesting letter of his remains to us, written originally in Arabic, and addressed to a Rabbi of the same country, named Dr. Isaac. This letter, of which a Latin version, made by the Dominican Alfonso de Buen Hombre, in 1329, has been repeatedly published, contains an ample refutation of Jewish objections to the Christian faith, written in accordance with the views of that period. A Spanish translation of this letter still remains in manuscript in the library of the Escurial. Baptized in Spain soon after the taking of Toledo by Alfonso VI., Rabbi Samuel appears to have returned to Morocco, and there to have held a conference on religion with a learned Mahomedan, of which his ac-

* Nic. Antonio, Bib. Vet. Hisp. vi. 8.

count, still in manuscript, is also to be found in the library of the Escurial.*

To the eleventh century also belongs the birth of another Christian Israelite, who was afterwards distinguished for the testimony he bore to the truth and power of the Gospel. Rabbi Moses, of Huesca, in Arragon, was born in the year 1062, and baptized in the year 1106, King Alphonso I. standing as his sponsor, after whom and his brother and predecessor he was named, Pedro Alphonso. He afterwards wrote a defence of Christianity and a refutation of Jewish incredulity, in the form of a dialogue between Moses and Pedro Alphonso; this work is spoken of in high terms, and has since been of great use in Spain. We have also by him a "Disciplina Clericalis," under the title of "Proverbs," in which he seems to have borrowed from the Arabic writers, especially the tales and fables of Pilpay.

Another learned and distinguished Israelite who received the Christian faith and made known in his writings the ground of his belief, was Rabbi Abner, the physician, in the early part of the fourteenth century. While yet in communion with the synagogue, he wrote an

* Nic. Antonio, vii. 1.

explanation of Aben Ezra's treatise on the Ten Commandments. When converted to the Christian faith, he wrote a refutation of Kimchi's work against Christianity, known by the same title, "the Wars of the Lord." At the request of the Infanta Blanca, abbess of the Convent of Las Huelgas, at Burgos, he translated the work into Spanish. As a Christian, he is known by the name of Alphonso of Burgos, his native city, or of Valladolid, where, until his death, in 1346, he filled the post of sacristan to the Cathedral.*

Among the Jewish conversions recorded in the history of Spain, none are more worthy of interest than that of Rabbi Salomon Levi, of Burgos, in the latter part of the fourteenth century. It is the more remarkable, because

* Between Pedro Alphonso and Alphonso of Valladolid we might insert Petrus Julianus, surnamed the Spaniard, if we could be quite certain that he was really a Jew by birth or descent, of which, however, I only find mention made by one authority. This learned man first practised as a physician, then became Archbishop of Braga, and finally Pope, under the name of John XXI. This Pope is known to have written several works on medicine. His reputation has been tarnished by the ill-will of the monkish orders, to whom he did not show much favour.

the blessing of his conversion seems to have rested upon his descendants for many generations. The Rabbi we have just mentioned, of the tribe of Levi, as his name, which was that of the whole family, denotes, was, until his fortieth year, a teacher among the Jews, eminent alike for his birth and learning. At that age he became acquainted with the writings of Thomas Aquinas, whose treatise "De Legibus" made so deep an impression upon his mind that his national prejudices against Christianity fell to the ground, and he was enlightened by that Spirit from above which brought life and salvation to his soul. In the year 1392 he received Christian baptism, together with his four sons, then young children, but who all, in after-life, inherited their father's high character and great celebrity. His wife was already dead, but his mother and his brothers followed his example, by making public confession of their faith in the Saviour.* From that moment, he devoted himself as assiduously to the study of Christian theology as he had before done to that of the

* From that time he bore the name of Paul, with the appellations of Santa Maria, in honour of the Virgin ; of Burgos, after his native city ; and of Carthagena, his first bishopric.

Jews. He obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Paris, and preached at Avignon, to a very numerous audience, in the presence of Peter de Luna, afterwards Benedict XIII., then one of the candidates for the Papacy. He was made Archdeacon of Burgos, Bishop of Carthagena, and lastly Bishop of Burgos, a dignity to which his son succeeded during his father's lifetime. While he was yet Bishop of Carthagena, his extraordinary talents, extensive knowledge, and excellent judgment in matters of state completely gained the confidence of King Henry III., the Invalid. This King, who died young, appointed him by will to the office of High Chancellor, after the death of Don Pedro Lopes de Ayala, and entrusted to him the education of his son and successor, John II. Some time after the infant Ferdinand, uncle and guardian to the young king, being called to the throne of Arragon, before his departure appointed the Bishop of Burgos a member of the Council of Regency. He remained in the service of King John till the time of his death, in 1435, filling the same situation to which he had been appointed by King Henry.

All Spanish historians and chroniclers are

unanimous in their praises of this descendant of the house of Israel, both as a bishop and statesman. They generally style him the excellent,—“el varon excellente,” and speak of him “as a man able to govern his tongue, and in all ways well calculated to guide and advise kings.”* Yet the cares of state never diminished his zeal, either for the duties of his pastoral office, or for that study of Holy Scripture, which had ever been the very life of his soul. His pastoral labours only ended with his life, for he was taken with the illness of which he died, in his eighty-third year, in a journey he made to visit the different churches of his diocese, though the bishopric itself had already passed to his son, Alphonso. His indefatigable activity as a student and expounder of Scripture is attested by his writings, of which two in particular deserve our notice; his “Additions to the Postills of Nicholas de Lyra,”† and his “Scrutinium

* The noble knight and writer, Hernan Perez de Guzman, thus makes mention of him in his “Generaciones de los excelentes Reyes de Espana.”

† The value of these additions is defended against the Franciscan Monk, Doring, by Richard Simon in his Historia Critica Vet. Test. III. 11.

Scripturarum." The latter is of the latest date, and contains, in the form of a dialogue between Paul and Saul, a refutation of Jewish objections to the Christian faith.

The introduction, in which the venerable Bishop dedicates his work on the whole Bible, then completed, to his son, Don Alphonso of Carthagena, at that time Archdeacon of Compostella, will afford us, in his own words, a better insight into his character and private feelings, than any account written by another. He thus writes: "What would you most wish, my dearly beloved son, that I should give you whilst I am alive, or leave as a legacy to you at my death? What could be better, than to add to the knowledge you already possess of Holy Scripture, which will strengthen your feet in the path of a well-directed zeal for Christian truth? It is this which I bear in my heart, of which I make confession with my lips, and concerning which I understand the words of the prophet: 'The father shall teach his children thy truth.' (Isa. xxxviii. 19.)

"I was not myself thus taught in the days of my youth, but was brought up in Jewish blindness and incredulity; while learning Holy Scripture from unsanctified teachers, I

received erroneous opinions from erring men, who cloud the pure letter of Scripture by impure inventions, as such teachers have been wont to do. But when it pleased Him whose mercies are infinite, to call me from darkness to light, and from the depth of the pit to the open air of heaven, the scales seemed as it were to fall from the eyes of my understanding, and I began to read Holy Scripture with my mind in part released from the bonds of prejudice and unbelief. I began to seek for truth, no longer trusting to the power of my own intellect, but with a humbled spirit, praying to God from the heart to make known to me what might be for the salvation of my soul. Day and night I sought help from Him, and thus it came to pass that my love for the Christian faith so much increased, that at length I was able openly to confess the belief which my heart had already received. Having then attained the age at which you now are, my son, I received the sacrament of Baptism, and was sprinkled with the holy water of the Church, receiving, at the same time, the name of Paul. You, my dear son, were then in the innocence of childhood, and received this purification at that tender age, while yet unsullied with the sins of riper

years. You were baptized by the name of Alphonso before you could say your letters!

"Afterwards, as time passed on, I devoted myself yet more to the study of Holy Scripture, reading both the Testaments, hearing the words of living teachers, and consulting the writings of holy men, our predecessors; thus I, who was formerly a teacher of error, am become, by the grace of God, a learner of the truth, and have continued so to the great age I have now attained. I can say in truth that amid the pressure of worldly business, and the cares of my bishopric, which have occupied much of my time, there is no consolation to be compared to that I have found in the contemplation of the Eternal God by the study of his holy and spotless Word.

"I have also enjoyed what the world calls prosperity. In my utter unworthiness, God has raised me to high honours in his Church. Called first to the Bishopric of Carthagena, then raised to that of Burgos, I have been, so to speak, gifted with the choicest portions in the Church of God. To these have been also added other temporal advantages. With King Henry III., of glorious memory, and with his illustrious son, our present monarch, I have been on terms of familiar intercourse

while holding the office of Chancellor. How the goodness of God has also been manifest in his dealings with you and your elder brother, I need not recal to you. One circumstance, however, I cannot pass over in silence,—that to us, the descendants of Levi, have been fulfilled the promises written so many hundred years ago: ‘Wherefore there shall not be for the Levite a portion or inheritance among his brethren; the Lord himself is his inheritance, as the Lord thy God hath said to him.’ (Deut. x. 9.) Truly God himself is our inheritance! Christ is our portion! who has said of old time, that he would cleanse the sons of Levi and purify them, and they shall be the Lord’s, to present an offering in righteousness. He now allows us to present this offering, which he will not only look upon, but accept at our hands. It is not without a purpose that I have thus related to you the experience of my past life. It is useful and necessary you should know all the mercies of my God towards me, and a true and sincere memorial of them cannot be taxed with pride. To you, in particular, I address these recollections, that what you have not seen with your eyes may yet be engraven on your memory as coming from the lips of your father, that in

your turn you may tell to those who are younger than you, and they to their descendants, not to forget the works of the Lord, nor cease from the study of his holy Word."

After giving some further explanation of the nature and use of the Postills of Lyra, and his own additions to the work, he concludes his introduction with these words: "This, my dearly beloved son, is my testament to you, and let it also be your inheritance that the law of the Lord may be your delight, and that you may meditate day and night on his Word. This meditation will become more pleasant and delightful to you by reading such works. Accept, then, your father's gift, offered with a father's tenderness and joy. And now it is enough. Having asked help of Almighty God, from whom, and in whom alone, is all wisdom, and having committed the work to him with humble prayer, let us lay our hand to the plough."

The other work of the Bishop of Burgos, entitled "Examination of the Scriptures," is less extensive in compass, but equally interesting. He continued to labour at it in his old age, and had the satisfaction of finishing it a little before his death. We cannot here admit quotations from this work, chiefly

intended to bring conviction to his former coreligionists, and for that purpose filled with striking passages in support of the Christian faith, quoted from rabbinical writers, giving their views of the person, the distinguishing characteristics, and the promised kingdom of the Messiah. He also expresses, very clearly, his own views concerning the future restoration of Israel, taken from the Prophecies, an expectation which has never been quite lost sight of in the Romish Church. "As for the remnant of Israel," he says, "which shall remain at the coming of Christ, we firmly believe that when the delusion of Antichrist has been made manifest, they will turn in truth to the Messiah, and for his sake endure much persecution, continuing to the end steadfast in the faith. This is what was written by the apostle in Romans xi.: 'All Israel shall be saved; and by the Prophet Hosea: 'The children of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without statute, and without ephod or teraphim. After which the children of Israel shall be converted and seek the Lord their God and David their king; or, as the Chaldee paraphrase expresses it, 'And they shall obey Messiah the son of David, their

king.' Thus at last shall the whole nation of Israel be brought to the faith in Christ."

The four sons of Paul of Burgos, born before his baptism and ordination, each inherited a share of their father's celebrity and high character. They are known in the history of the kingdoms of Spain by the names of Don Alphonso de Carthagena, Don Gonzalo de Santa Maria, Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria, and Pedro de Carthagena.

Don Alphonso was for many years Archdeacon of Compostella, and being equally distinguished as a statesman and pastor, he was afterwards made Bishop of Burgos, in the room of his father. He took his seat at the Council of Basle, in 1431, as a representative of Castile, and was treated with high honour, on account of his great talents and distinguished excellence. *Aeneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope Pius II., called him in his memoirs, "an ornament to the Prelacy." Pope Eugenius IV., learning that the Bishop of Burgos was about to visit Rome, declared in full conclave "that in presence of such a man he felt ashamed to be seated in Peter's chair." Spanish historians unanimously agree in representing the son as a worthy representative of his excellent father. He is also known to pos-

terity by his writings, some of which have been published, while some are said still to remain in manuscript in the Chapel of Burgos, where he was buried. Those which have seen the light may by their titles give some idea of the bent of his studies, and the variety of knowledge which he attained. They are,—“A Chronicle of the Kings of Spain;” a treatise of Christian morality, entitled “Instruction for Knights, and Memorials of Virtue,” written both in Latin and Spanish, and dedicated to Prince Edward, afterwards King of Portugal; “ Juridical Memoirs on the right of the Kings of Castile to the Canary Islands;” translations into Spanish of some books of Seneca and Cicero; translations from the Arabic; a Commentary on the 26th Psalm; and a Homily on Prayer, in reply to a letter on that subject addressed to him by the noble and Christian knight, Hernan Perez de Guzman, an intimate friend of the venerable Bishop, whom he loved as a father, and at whose death, in 1456, he expressed his grief in some stanzas full of feeling and poetry.

Don Gonzalo de Santa Maria also rose to distinction in the Church. He was deputed from Aragon to the Council of Constance in 1416; was made Bishop of Placentia, and

afterwards of Siguenza, which dignity he held till his death, in 1448. He was distinguished, like his brother, for his talents and piety.

The third brother, Alvar de Santa Maria, has become very generally known by his historical writings. He was first secretary to the young King of Castile, John II., but afterwards left him to accompany his uncle, Don Ferdinand, when called to the throne of Arragon, where he continued high in the favour of that excellent monarch. He wrote the "Chronicles of John II., to the year 1420," a work which was afterwards continued by Juan de Menia, and ended by the knight Perez de Guzman.

Until near the close of the eighteenth century, the family of the excellent Bishop of Burgos still preserved in Spain the rank and high esteem which their ancestors formerly obtained. The family was perpetuated by the descendants of the fourth son, many of whom intermarried with nobility of high rank in the country. Pedro de Carthagena distinguished himself as a knight and warrior. While a member of the municipality of Burgos, he had more than once the honour of entertaining royal guests in his magnificent abode, especially the Infanta Dona Blanca, of Arragon,

on her marriage with the heir of Castile, afterwards Henry IV. In the chronicles of John II. he is first mentioned on the occasion of a tournament, held in presence of the King, at which he gained the prize, in jousting with the most celebrated knights of the day. He is mentioned afterwards among the valorous knights who distinguished themselves at the battle of Granada, 1431, under the command of the Count de Haro.* A son of Pedro of Carthagena, named Alvar, after his uncle, was, like his father, a valiant warrior. He lost his life in one of the numerous civil wars, caused by the dissensions of the nobles during the turbulent reign of Henry IV. The Carthagenas were then taking the part of the Velascos, Counts of Haro, their ancient allies, against the Manricos, Counts of Trevino.†

When Rabbi Salomon, afterwards Bishop Paul of Burgos, had embraced and was preaching the Christian faith in Spain, one of his former coreligionists, Rabbi Joshua de Lorca, in Mercia, took pen in hand to oppose his views. But soon this zealous enemy of the Gospel be-

* Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo. (Pampeluna, 1590.) Anno xxv. cap. 48, &c.

† Cronica del Rey Enrique el Quarto por su Capellan y Cronista Diego Enriques del Castillo. Cap. 151.

came himself an ardent confessor of the truth, according to the measure of light enjoyed by the Church in Spain. Rabbi Joshua, who at his baptism took the name of Jerome of Santa Fè, failed not to declare openly the reason which had given rise to this change in his religious opinions, by publishing two "Tracts against the Jews."*

The publication of this controversy was partly called forth by an event of some consequence in the history of the respective relations of the Jews and Christians in the Peninsula. I mean the celebrated conference between Jewish and Christian theologians, held in the years 1413-14, in the city of Tortosa, in Arragon. The conference was proposed and the assembly convened by Pope Benedict XIII., at the instigation of the converted Talmudist, Dr. Jerome of Santa Fè, who, after his baptism, entered the service of the Pope, being appointed his physician. Both Jewish and Christian historians give a detailed account of this conference; and, though it is natural they should differ in their views of the subject discussed, as well as in the result of the dispu-

* To be met with in the "Bibliotheca Magna Veterum Patrum," and "Antiqui. Scriptorum."

tation, they agree very nearly in asserting the following particulars: *—

The Congress was opened by the Pope in person, attended by the Cardinals and clergy of all ranks, and remained sitting there for more than twenty-one months. In this time they held sixty-nine meetings, during which both sides joined in discussing the great question, "Is Jesus, called of Nazareth, who was born at Bethlehem in the latter days of King Herod, forty years before the destruction of the second temple, who was crucified, and died at Jerusalem, really the true Messiah, foretold by the prophets of the Old Testament?"

The discussion was carried on by arguments drawn from Scripture, as well as from the Paraphrases and Commentaries of the Jews. On the Christian side, there was with the Doctor of Santa Fè, who opened the Assembly

* We find the account given by the Christians of this meeting in Zurita's "Anales de Aragon," tom. iii. fol. 108, 109; in Rodrigues de Castro's "Bibliotheca Rabbinica," i. pp. 203—227. The Jewish accounts were chiefly written by Rabbi Salomon Ben Verga, in his "Sceptrum Judæ." A narrative of the whole by Dr. Jerome of Santa Fè is said to have remained in MS. in the library of the Escurial.

with a speech, and subsequently took an active part in the discussion, another converted Jewish teacher, well skilled in Hebrew and Chaldee, named Andreas Beltran, a native of Valencia, at that time Almoner to the Pope, and afterwards made Bishop of Barcelona. Among a numerous body of clergy was Garcia Alvares de Alarcon, especially famed for his knowledge of the Hebrew language and theology. On the Jewish side were Rabbi Zarachia the Levite, Don Todros de Huesca, Don Joseph Ben Addereth, Don Istroc, or Astruc, the Levite, Rabbi Moses Ben Mosa, Rabbi Joseph Albo, Rabbi Ferrer, and Don Vidal Benvenista, who was the principal champion of his party, as Dr. Jerome was on the Christian side. The result of this conference is passed over by Jewish historians with remarkable silence. According to the Christians, all the Rabbins declared themselves vanquished, and signed an act to that effect, with the exception of Rabbi Albo and Rabbi Ferrer.

In consequence of this decisive victory, a vast multitude of Israelites were added to the Church, which they entered by families and by synagogues. But the glory of this event was tarnished by the intolerant and harsh edicts which the Church of Rome thought fit

to pronounce against those Jews who could not be brought by persuasion to embrace the Christian faith or to adopt its forms.

It was not to the conference of Jewish and Christian theologians at Tortosa alone that Castile and Arragon were indebted for so great a number of converts, many of whom sincerely received the Christian faith, while all professed obedience to the Church of Rome.

Some years before, the exemplary zeal of a Dominican monk had led him to preach the Gospel in Spain, both to the Jews and Mahometans ; and the Word of God, declared in the midst of the synagogue and among the people, without threats of fire or sword, had been crowned with incredible success. To the devoted piety and great talents of Vincent Ferrar testimony is borne, alike by Protestant writers* and those of the Romish Church ; the success that attended his efforts was equal to the zeal he evinced while visiting the Churches of England, Ireland, France, and Italy. It is said that in Spain eight thousand Mahometans, and more than thirty thousand Jews were brought, by his preaching, to the knowledge

* Milner's "History of the Church of Christ." Cent. xv. ch. 4.

of the truth, an event celebrated in history as a cause of national rejoicing.*

It may well be imagined that all these conversions were not well grounded and sincere. On the contrary, a marked and abiding difference became afterwards more and more manifest between the Conversos for many generations. We may divide the baptized Jews and their descendants into three classes. 1st. Those who in truth, and with all their heart, received the Christian faith, or, brought up in that religion by parents of Jewish origin, ended by becoming really attached to it. 2dly. Those who from purely worldly motives, and without sincere love for either faith, made use of any occasion that presented itself to escape from the oppressed condition of the Jew, and enter the brilliant career opened to them by a profession in conformity with the doctrines of the reigning Church. 3dly. Those who, under compulsion of persecution, or on the impulse of the moment, made a profession of Christianity, while they practised in secret the rites of Judaism, and handed down its tenets to their posterity.

* In unâ Hispaniâ Maurorum octo millia, Judæorum triginta quinque millia nomina Christo dederunt: ac præsertim Palentiae in Vacceis multo maxima Judæorum pars Christiana sacra suscepit, Sanctro Rogio ejus urbis Episcopo. Publica ex iis rebus lœtitia, etc.—Mariana, xix.12.

Whatever may have been the cause, from that time the Christian population of Spain, especially of the upper classes, was swelled by a great influx of Jewish families and their descendants,—a remarkable event, the consequences of which have since been apparent in many ways, and have continued so, even to our time, in that country. We shall soon have occasion to take a dark and distressing view of this fact, but we have first a few words more to say upon the brighter side.

There is no doubt but that these forced and feigned conversions, as well as the worldly conduct of many who had willingly embraced Christianity, became, both to the Jews themselves, and to a large portion of the Spanish population, a source of great and increasing misery. And yet we must not on that account close our eyes to the excellence of other conversions; I mean of those whose sincerity furnished to Spain, even after the establishment of the Inquisition, many interesting and bright examples, both in the offices of Church and State.

Paul of Burgos and his sons are not by any means the only sons of Israel whose services, talents, and virtue, adorn the annals of Spain. We shall notice in later times some distinguished statesmen of Jewish birth who have

obtained high fame in their own country, and been the founders of some of the most illustrious Christian families in the Peninsula.

In the annals of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century many Conversos and their descendants are named as having distinguished themselves by their excellence among the different ranks and degrees of the clergy. None are more highly spoken of than the Cardinal Don Juan de Torquemada* and the Dean of Toledo, Don Francisco, afterwards Bishop of Coria, who were looked upon as the ornaments of their country and century. Both were Castilians by birth,—one from Burgos, the other from Toledo; both were high in esteem at Rome, and valued by their own sovereigns, who employed them in various important embassies, and appointed them to posts of responsibility, both in the Church and State; both, also, but especially Torquemada, were the authors of different works on subjects of general interest, and also on theology. They were equally remarkable for the purity of their life and conduct, their zeal in the duties of their office, and for a fear of God in the heart,

* This Cardinal Torquemada must not be confounded with the famous Dominican, Don Thomas de Torquemada, so well known as the first Inquisitor-General in Spain.

which led to the observance of all his commandments in their relations with men. Lastly, both exerted themselves in the cause of their Israelitish brethren converted to the faith, against the injustice of the clergy and the prejudices of the multitude, who sought to exclude them from any participation in the dignities of the Church or State.

All the really pious and enlightened clergy sided with these two excellent Israelites in repressing every manifestation of ill-will against the Jews and Conversos. Among them was Alonzo de Oropessa, the celebrated Superior of the Hieronymites, an upright, moderate man, who sought to guard by severity against feigned conversions, while he upheld with kindness and impartiality the cause of true converts to Christianity, by screening them from persecution and unjust exclusion.

In the footsteps of Torquemada and his cotemporaries followed other bishops and prelates of the same descent. We may mention the names of Don Alonso de Valladolid, and Don Alonso de Palenzuela, both in turn Bishops of Ciudad Rodrigo, with another pious and eminent prelate of his time, Don Juan Ortega, of Malvenda, Bishop of Coria,

and a near relation of Paul of Burgos, of whom is related in the chronicles of Ferdinand and Isabella,* that he was almost compelled by force to accept this dignity, in 1482,—so far was he from seeking anything beyond a life of tranquil and unnoticed piety.

Many converted Jews or their descendants are mentioned in the same century as zealous reformers of the religious orders, especially Malvenda, who belonged to one of them before he was raised to the Episcopate.

There were, however, some sad exceptions to the remarks we have just made, Bishops and other members of the clergy of Jewish birth and descent having undoubtedly introduced dangerous errors, and held in secret pernicious heresies.

One grievous and remarkable instance is brought before us in a trial by the Ecclesiastical Court, of which we will give a brief sketch. Gonzalvo Alonso, a Jew, baptized in consequence of the preaching of Vincent Ferrar, was promoted to high dignity in the Church, as well as his two sons, one of whom, Don Alonzo, was made Archbishop of Montreal, in Sicily; the other, Don Pedro de

* Hernando des Pulgar, Cronica de los Senores Catolicos Don Fernando y Dona Isabel.

Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra ; the latter was also named President of the Council of Castile, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella (1482), on account of his great political and legislative talents. Ten years afterwards, he was engaged by the Inquisition in a double suit : first, on account of his father, whom that tribunal declared to have returned in secret to Judaism, and whose property it therefore laid claim to, according to existing regulations. The other suit related to the Bishop himself, who was accused of perverting the Christian religion by errors inclining towards Judaism, to introduce which he had employed all kinds of machinations, and even called Councils in his own diocese. He appealed to the Pope, and went in person to Rome, where he met with a most favourable reception. He cleared the memory of his father from the accusations of the Inquisition, and was appointed Major-domo to Pope Alexander VI., who sent him as his ambassador to the Republic of Venice. When, however, the trial for heresy, of which he had been accused, was put by the Pope into the hands of a Committee of Ecclesiastics, the result, after the examination of a hundred and one witnesses cited by the Bishop, was, his condemnation to perpetual imprisonment

in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he soon after died. Though Llorente* tries to defend him, yet his admissions, with other details from Mariana and Zurita, tend to prove that the Bishop of Calahorra was in truth a concealed Jew.

The immense accession of converts and their descendants, allied to the old Christians by the ties of marriage and relationship, excited fresh movements and disturbances among the people, especially the lower classes. The riches and privileges of the Jews, when baptized, were not less intolerable than those of unbaptized Jews in the eyes of a multitude who looked upon the greater number of the Conversos—often, alas! with truth—as unbelievers, who aggravated the crime of their enmity to Christians and Christianity by the added guilt of dissimulation. Thence arose seditions, pillage, and reciprocal murders, not only between Jew and Christian, but henceforth between Jew and Christian and Conversos. Thence sprung associations of a religious nature in the midst of the political factions which already distracted the feeble and unhappy reign of Henry IV., of Castile (1454—1474). All these together seemed

* *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, i., 267—269.

ready to plunge the kingdom into a still deeper chaos of disorder,—when all at once the succession of Isabella, the sister of Henry, to the throne, gave to Castile fresh life and vigour.

It was a striking manifestation of God's providence which, just as the Castilian monarchy was sinking into a state of irretrievable anarchy, raised up the high-souled woman to whom the whole monarchy of Spain owes its greatest period of splendour. Almost against his will, but guided by his powerful favourite, Don Alvar de Luna, King John II. had contracted a second marriage with the Infanta Isabella, daughter of the Grand Master, Don John of Portugal, one of the sons of John I., of that country. This marriage soon proved fatal in its effects to Don Alvar, who had recommended it; for, having excited the displeasure of the new Queen, he fell into disgrace with the King, and ended his days on the scaffold. By this second marriage King John II. had two children, an infant named Alfonso, born 1451, and an infanta, afterwards the celebrated Queen Isabella.

The childhood and youth of the future Queen were spent in neglect and retirement. King Henry necessarily looked with suspicion

upon the offspring of his father's second marriage,—a feeling increased by the numerous outbreaks and disturbances raised by those who were discontented with his government. A powerful party among the nobility placed the young Alfonso at their head, and proclaimed his title to the throne; they were, however, completely defeated, near Olmeda, in 1466, when he lost the throne he had usurped, and, soon after, his life (1468). His party then offered the succession to his sister, the young Isabella, but in vain. Yet her refusal gained her no favour with her royal brother. On the contrary, the distance between them was increased, when, in 1469, the Infanta made her choice among the princes who sought her hand, and married her cousin, Don Ferdinand, son and heir of John II., of Arragon, against the will of the King. New parties were still formed in Castile to dispute the succession to the throne. In the differences that then arose between the partisans of the daughter of Henry IV., Dona Johanna, and those of the King's sister, Isabella, the great majority of the nobles and of the people declared themselves in favour of the couple already esteemed and loved by all, who have since gained so great a name in history under,

the title of "Reyes Catolicos," the Catholic sovereigns.

Their accession to the throne at the death of Henry IV., in 1474, was the commencement of a long course of prosperity for their country. King Alphonso V., of Portugal, who had declared himself the champion of Dona Johanna, that he might secure the crown to himself by a marriage with that princess, lost, after the battle of Toro, all hopes of effecting this scheme, and was compelled to sign a treaty of peace, confirming Isabella's right to the throne which she then occupied. Castile was soon fortified and rendered formidable to her enemies, both within and without the Peninsula, by the success of her arms. Her inward power was also greatly increased by the wisdom of a Government which could appreciate, encourage, and appropriate, all the available resources of the country, both in material riches, and in moral and intellectual greatness.

Reciprocal strength and advantage accrued to Castile and Arragon from the union of the two crowns under such eminent princes as Ferdinand and Isabella. The interior government throughout their dominions was soon simplified and upheld by a rare admixture of

mildness and decision. The nobility, whose chivalrous bearing was more than ever respected, and incited to great and noble deeds, were thus rendered incapable of injuring the Royal power. They were thus also prevented from mutually destroying and weakening one another, as they had done during the innumerable feuds which arose between the great families of the kingdom before the accession of Isabella, and which had almost unpeopled Castile and Andalusia. The great men who flourished in this the golden age of Spain, found in fidelity and devotion to their King and Queen a common rallying point against enemies from abroad, and the unbelieving Moslem within the Peninsula. No names in the whole history of Spain are more illustrious than those whose renown formed, as it were, part of the government of Ferdinand and Isabella ; as, for instance, that of the great captain and conqueror of the Moors in Spain and the French in Italy, Gonzalvo Fernandez, of Cordova, with others of the illustrious families of the Guzmans, anciently of Gothic origin ;—the Toledos, dukes of Alva, sprung from a royal stock among the Arabs ;—the Arias, of Avila, of Israelitish descent ;* and

* Diego Arias, Treasurer and Secretary to Henry IV.

the Henricos and Arragons, princes of the same blood as their sovereigns. Among the illustrious personages who surrounded the throne, distinguished alike by noble birth and high personal merit, we find six sons of Don Inigo Lopes de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillane, equally renowned in his day as a warrior and a man of letters. One of his sons, Don Pedro Gonsales de Mendoza, was Archbishop of Toledo, often called the "Great Cardinal," and sometimes, on account of his political wisdom and powerful influence in the affairs of state under Ferdinand and Isabella, "the third sovereign of Castile." He was succeeded in the Archbishopsric, as well as in the confidence of the King, by Cardinal Ximenes, so well known in history for his vigorous regency of Castile during the minority of

was one of those Jews who, in the course of the fifteenth century, asked for, and received, baptism by hundreds. One of his sons, made Bishop of Segovia, was more inclined to act as a turbulent statesman and soldier, than as a virtuous prelate. When troubled by the Inquisition, he escaped all persecution by an appeal to Rome, where he ended his days. From a brother of this Bishop, Pedro Arias d'Avila, and his two sons, Pedro and Juan, descended a family, who, as well as the three we have named, were, from father to son, distinguished for their warlike and heroic exploits.

Charles V. He was, like his predecessor, Mendoza, a man of extraordinary talents, possessing, perhaps, greater power and strength of mind, but less of generosity and open-heartedness.

The wise government of the Catholic sovereigns enabled them to show honour to, and at the same time keep in subjection, all the distinguished characters among the chief nobility and high dignitaries of the Church. But the influence of the same government was not less salutary in its effects on the middle classes and the people in general. Measures were taken to protect and encourage industry and commerce. Learning and science was more than ever esteemed and cultivated. Taking example from the Queen, who both read and wrote in Latin, many of the chief nobility applied themselves to the study of the classics. A son of the Duke of Alva gave lectures on Greek at the academy of Salamanca; and a son of the Count de Parédes did the same at Alcala of Henarez. Don Ferdinand de Velasco explained Pliny and Ovid; Dona Lucia de Medram became an instructress in classical literature; while the Marquis of Denèa, even in his sixtieth year, became a learner.

For Europe, as well as for the whole of Christendom, a new epoch was then about to commence. The art of printing had been invented,* and its power had spread far and wide; the Reformation was on the point of dawning, and the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 became, under God's guidance, a means of spreading fresh light over Christendom. Spain, under the dominion of Ferdinand and Isabella, was in the foremost rank of civilization and advancement among the European powers. To that country the world was soon after indebted for three of the striking events which mark the close of the Middle Ages. The discovery of a new way to the East Indies, first attempted by Vasco de Gama,—the conquest of Granada, and final destruction of Mahomedan power in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella,—and the discovery of

* One of the most important productions of the press in the beginning of the sixteenth century was the Complutensian Polyglott, printed at the expense and under the superintendence of Cardinal Ximenes at Alcala of Henarez. For the Hebrew text of this edition we are indebted to three learned Jews, who had in their early youth received Christian baptism. Their names were, Paul Coronel, Alfonso of Zamora, and Alfonso of Alcala.

America by Christopher Columbus, 'in their service.

Of all the noble deeds, great undertakings, and astonishing discoveries which laid the foundation of the powerful Austro-Spanish empire, Isabella, rather than Ferdinand, was the soul. The King at her side, guided by the lofty genius of the Queen, was by no means so devoid of talents as some historians have represented. What he was when left to himself, without his high-souled wife, is manifest in his acts and his whole life after her decease. Both the power and brilliancy of their reign was, without doubt, owing to Isabella. History has long ago recognised and paid homage to the excellence of her character: but until the present century, when the position of Spain under the Catholic sovereigns* has been so prominently brought forward, full justice had not been done to her. Beloved and looked up to by all, the powerful influence of her noble mind and energetic example acted with a vivifying force upon the nation, the army, and the whole court, as well as upon the King himself, and her own immediate circle.

* See Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella;" and Don Diego Clemencia's "Elogio de la Reina Católica Dona Isabel." Madrid, 1821.

Delighting in all that was great and chivalrous, and gifted with the talents needful to carry out her noble ideas, she united with royal grandeur a woman's amiability in the fullest and best sense of the expression. Nothing that was unbecoming or unhandsome found favour in her eyes because of its expediency. Valiant in war, and severe in the execution of justice, she was yet of a most tender and compassionate disposition, which led her to oppose, though ineffectually, the national enthusiasm for bull-fights, and even for tournaments, when they caused the blood of brave men to flow for mere amusement. Without in any degree departing from a queenly dignity, she treated her subjects and attendants with the greatest possible affability on every occasion. Simple in her tastes and habits, she tried, as far as her high position allowed, to carry out this taste in her dress and domestic arrangements. True Christian piety, as far as the age and Church to which she belonged allowed, was the ruling principle of both her public and private life. From it she found strength and courage in times of adversity as well as prosperity. The glory of God, by the maintenance and propagation of the Church on earth, formed the main object of her politi-

cal undertakings at home and abroad. With the purest of motives she erred in a way that must ever be deplored in the application and choice of means. The unity, which with much wisdom and energy she had effected in temporal affairs, and had caused to centre in the throne of the Catholic sovereigns, she thought it equally possible and incumbent upon her to establish and maintain in spiritual things throughout the Church of Christ upon earth. A sad but inevitable consequence of the teaching of that Church, which seeks for unity and the assurance of a future state, not at the right hand of God in those high places where Christ liveth and reigneth, but in the city upon seven hills, where is set up the dominion of the man of sin ! Fatal error ! leading by necessary induction to the Antichristian measure of carrying on with fire and sword what God has declared to be the work of his Holy Spirit. This same error, which in after-times deprived Philip II., Isabella's great nephew, of the Low Countries, and took from Louis XIV. all his Protestant subjects, now tore the very vitals of Spain, debased the character of its inhabitants, and opened an inexhaustible source, not only of superstition, but of infidelity, in the midst of its population for centuries after. The king-

doms of Spain owe to the noble and high-minded Isabella two events which almost entirely tarnish the lustre of the great benefits for which they are indebted to her glorious reign. These were, the introduction of the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jews. The aim of the latter was to deliver Spain from the incredulity of the unbaptized Jews; that of the former, to guard against the apostasy of those who were baptized. Both entirely failed in accomplishing their end, after shedding torrents of blood and inflicting incalculable suffering.

Yet Ferdinand, and especially Isabella, were far from that Pagan hatred of the Jewish race so frequently met with where zeal for the Church and religion is entirely wanting. Isabella befriended the Jews as a nation, not only with a desire to win them to the Christian faith, but also because of the ancient ties which had subsisted between her fathers and the Jewish families established from time immemorial in Spain. She herself had Israelitish blood in her veins, by her descent in the female line from John I. of Portugal, whose mother was a daughter of Israel. The kings who had preceded Ferdinand and Isabella had always been surrounded by Israelites in the capacity of

physicians, treasurers, learned men, and ministers of state ; individuals of that nation had many times rendered service and proved their fidelity to Queen Isabella and her husband. Don Abraham Senior, in a moment when their succession was doubtful, had exerted himself with so much energy on their behalf, that when a great diminution of favours and pensions was decreed, he was among the few to whom a continuation of his pension was considered due.

The celebrated Rabbi Don Isaac Abarbanel, of whom we shall speak hereafter, long enjoyed the confidence of the Catholic sovereigns. They were at all times surrounded by numerous Conversos. In the reign of John II., the father of Isabella, one of the most eminent statesmen mentioned in all chronicles and histories was Don Ferdinand Diaz de Toledo, a converted Jew, whose son, Don Pedro de Toledo, in the reign of Isabella, was first Archdeacon of the Archbishopric of Toledo, and afterwards, when Malaga was taken from the Moors in 1489, he was considered the fittest person to appoint as its first Bishop. Among the immediate attendants at Court we find also Fernando del Pulgar, secretary and chronicler to the Queen ; Alonso

de Avila, secretary, and Ferdinand Alvares de Toledo,* prothonotary, of Granada,—all Conversos: the descendants of the latter were distinguished in Castile as the Counts of Cedillo. Ferdinand, in his kingdom of Arragon, was not less surrounded with Conversos and their descendants at his Court and in the offices of the State. The prothonotary of Arragon, Philip de Clemente, with his wife, Violante de Calatayud, the King's secretary, Luiz Gonzales, and his treasurer, Luiz Sanchez, were all descended in a direct line from baptized or converted Jews. The Vice-Chancellor of Arragon, in the time of Ferdinand's father as well as his own, was Don Alonzo de la Cavalleria, of Saragossa, of a family originally Jewish, whose Christian members were at that time to be found among the clergy and magistrates of the town, as well as in the first and second chamber. His grandson, Don Francisco de la Cavalleria, was afterwards honoured by an alliance with the royal family, when he married the Countess of Ribagorza, a cousin of the Emperor Charles V. Meanwhile, the Inquisition noted with care the genealogies of all the nobles of Arragon, sprung of Jewish race,

* We must not confound this family with the Alvares of Toledo, Dukes of Alva, who were of Arabic origin.

in a secret register, which was used, when occasion served, to oppress those with whom it was displeased, and whose revelations were concealed, or clothed under a pretence of indulgence to those whose credit and power it feared.

Mention is made in history of the Inquisition before the year 1483, for an ancient institution then existed which the zealots of the time considered quite inadequate to purge the Church from the leaven of Judaism. The tribunal established by Ferdinand and Isabella, which cast so dark a shadow over their reign, was called the New Inquisition. Under this title, an abomination already too well known throughout Christendom, appeared with fresh organization and redoubled powers.

It is well known that the fanatical hatred of the Dominican order, when seeking a fit instrument for the destruction of the Vaudois, invented the Inquisition, which found numerous victims among the Christians of the south of France, &c. The ancient Inquisition had also vented its fury upon the errors of the Jews and Conversos, without having attained the degree of systematic cruelty and organized ferocity of which the new Inquisition presented to the world so fearful a spectacle.

The new Inquisition differed from its elder sister in two ways: *first*, because it was especially directed against converts from Judaism, without overlooking those from Mahomedanism, or ceasing to take cognizance of evil doings against the religion of the State; *secondly*, because, unlike the old tribunal, which was put in force for a time, as circumstances required, and called "Inquisition Extraordinary,"—this, on the contrary, formed a permanent and powerful body in the State, connected with the Government, and looked upon as an integral part of it. A decree was made, that no Bishop or other priest of Jewish extraction should take a seat in this new court, though this, like many similar ordinances, did not long remain in force.* The whole power of this monstrous Inquisition soon fell entirely into the hands of the regular clergy, especially the Dominicans, to whom Torquemada, the first Inquisitor-General of Castile and Arragon, belonged. Like the order of the Jesuits with its General at Rome, the Inquisition of Spain was at once a powerful bulwark and a cause of terror to the Papacy, which at the same time upheld and feared it.

* See Llorente's History of the Inquisition.

Isabella could not easily make up her mind to adopt a measure which, when once established, must be acted upon and carried out with the same energy and recklessness of consequences that characterized her whole government. The Cortes, the nobility, and the grantees, were, in general, opposed to the establishment of the Inquisition, but the Dominicans had set their heart upon it, and were determined to obtain it, while the lowest orders of the populace favoured, and, on occasion, supported it. Many centuries after, when the whole history of Spain, bent in compliance with, and subjugated by, the powers of the Inquisition, had been obliged to falsify and conceal many facts, it began to attribute both the establishment of this tribunal and the banishment of the Jews to the influence of several great men at the Court of Isabella, who, in reality, had taken no share in either of these movements. An urgent remonstrance against the establishment of this terrible tribunal during the reign of the Catholic sovereigns is attributable to Ximenes, though the fact cannot be denied, that in later times this statesman supported the dealings of the Inquisition with the Flemish nobility, during the minority of Charles V., and after Torquemada's death

accepted the post of Inquisitor-General. The whole spirit of the Great Cardinal de Mendoza was entirely opposed to that of the Inquisition, and Talavera showed sufficiently by his manner of dealing with the Mahomedans, when Archbishop of Granada, that he sought to bring unbelievers to the faith of the Gospel, not by force, but by means of a noble and active Christian philanthropy. After the death of his royal friend, Queen Isabella, Talavera himself was exposed to the enmity of the Inquisition, which was directed against his near relations and himself, to the utter indignation of all good men.

Of King Ferdinand it was said, that he was disposed to look favourably upon the introduction of the new Inquisition for the sake of his treasury, which was likely soon to be swelled by a vast amount of confiscations. But this circumstance in itself alarmed the conscience of the Queen, always tender, even in her greatest errors, and made her hesitate long before she gave her consent to the measure. What finally determined her to adopt it was, a vow she had made when a young Infanta,

- in the presence of Thomas of Torquemada, then her Confessor, that if ever she came to the throne, she would maintain the Catholic

faith with all her power, and extirpate heresy to the very root.

The first Papal Bull issued for the establishment of the Inquisition on this new footing in Castile, is dated in the year 1478. From that time fresh decrees were continually made in its favour, great privileges granted to the Inquisitors, and directions given for their labours, to which every facility was afforded. At Seville, the new tribunal opened the series of its abominations, the different authorities receiving strict injunctions to lend the help of the secular arm. At first these orders were understood to include the royal dominions alone, and not to extend to the territory of the nobility. As a natural consequence, a vast number of new Christians took refuge on the estates of the Duke of Medina, Sidonia, the Marquis of Cadiz, and other grandees in Seville and Andalusia. The Inquisition instantly issued an edict against these refugees, with the most stringent threats of excommunication, and other penalties, upon all who should give harbour to the guilty, and refuse to deliver them up. At Seville itself, in the year 1481, nearly three hundred Conversos were condemned to the flames as a first-fruits of the new Inquisition ; in other parts of the

province, the number amounted to two thousand, while seventeen thousand were condemned to minor penalties. In consequence of these proceedings, many Spaniards left their own country to seek safety in Africa, Portugal, or France.

The whole of Castile was shaken by the first effort of this new tribunal, yet no active resistance was offered to it. More difficulty was found in introducing it into the kingdom of Arragon in 1483. The equestrian order of knights, who for centuries had boasted their liberty and independence, the principal families of Saragossa, and the Conversos and their descendants, who belonged to one or other of these parties, or were allied to them by marriage,—all looked with equal horror upon this iniquitous establishment. Their indignation led them to form associations, and conspire together to risk a desperate stroke, following the example set before them, that the end legalizes the means. When every lawful opposition, every appeal to the privileges and liberties of their country had failed; when Torquemada had appointed the Dominican, Gaspar Juglar, and Dr. Pedro Arbues d'Avila, Inquisitors of Arragon, and in consequence several new Christians had been delivered up

to be burned upon an accusation of Judaism, it was resolved to strike a desperate blow. A collection was made among all the Arragonese of Jewish extraction, and an attempt set on foot to take the life of Arbues. On the evening of the 13th of September, 1485, while he was at prayer in the church, leaning against a pillar, he was attacked by hired assassins, and so severely wounded, in spite of the armour he wore under his garments, that he died two days after. This momentary victory on the part of its enemies, however, only forwarded the establishment of the Inquisition, not in Arragon alone, but throughout the Spanish dominions. Scarcely had the news spread in Saragossa of an attack upon the Inquisition, than the populace assembled in a fury to seek revenge upon the conspirators and the new Christians. A bloody contest would probably have ensued, and was with difficulty prevented by the young Archbishop, who rode among the people, and promised that the murderers should be brought to punishment. Ferdinand and Isabella soon after erected a statue to Arbues, and he was canonized by Pope Alexander VII., in 1664.

The punishment of his murderers and their

accomplices soon followed the death of Arbues, while those who had escaped were burnt in effigy. More than two hundred victims fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and many families were thrown into mourning. There was hardly a family of distinction at Saragossa of which one individual at least did not appear at the Auto-da-fé in the habit of a penitent. We will mention a few among the names of those who were more or less compromised by opposition to the Inquisition, being privy to the conspiracy against Arbues, or rendering some service to the conspirators:— Don Jacques, called the Infant of Navarre, a near relation of King Ferdinand; Don Lopes Ximenes de Urrea, Count of Aranda; Don Blasco d'Alagon, Lord of Sastago; Don Lope de Rebolledo; and Juan de Bardaxi, with many of their relations, and a large body of the nobility, knights, and gentry of Saragossa, Tarazona, Huesca, Catalayud, and Barbastro. Of these, Don Blasco d'Alagon, who had been receiver of the collection made by the conspirators, owed to the influence of his rank and powerful connexions alone, an escape from further punishment. Don Alonso de la Cavalieria was saved by an appeal to Rome, after

which all accusation, either of concealed Judaism or connexion with the conspirators, was withdrawn.

From this period, the Inquisition met with no further obstacles, and for three centuries it raged in Spain with a vigour only abated during the course of the eighteenth century, while the victims who perished by its flames, or in its dungeons, were without number. The sum of those burnt at the stake during the inquisitorship of Torquemada alone, amounted to more than seventeen thousand, of whom six thousand eight hundred and sixty were burnt in effigy, while more than ninety thousand persons had been condemned to minor penalties.

It would be foreign to our purpose to trace any further the annals of this monstrous tribunal, though our attention is once more called to its proceedings in a memorable and decisive moment for the Churches of Spain, when the light of the Reformation began to spread, and descendants of Israel were again its victims in the new character of Protestants.

The voice which sounded from Wittenberg, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, penetrated even to the heart of countries most

nearly connected with the Papacy, and most completely enslaved by it. An English writer has already given a detailed account of the progress made in Spain by the Reformation, or rather by the doctrine "of justification by faith and not by works."* At its first appearance the Inquisition opened wide its blood-thirsty jaws. For fifteen years that tribunal was constantly engaged with criminal suits on account of Lutheran heresy at Seville and Valladolid.

In the early years of the reign of Philip II. the peril from new doctrines was considered most eminent. Dr. Juan Gil, Bishop elect of Tortosa, was convicted of entertaining Protestant views, and was forced, in 1552, to a recantation, which he afterwards bitterly deplored. Many Spaniards who shared his convictions had emigrated, among them were Cassiodorus of Reina, Cyprian of Valera, and Juan Perez de Pineda, who introduced thousands of Bibles and catechisms in Spanish, by means of a certain Julian Hernandez. The Inquisition having seized upon this agent, was soon on the track of a multitude of Protestants in the

* M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy and Spain.

kingdom, many of whom were eminent for learning, talent, and rank. An Auto-da-fé was soon after held in presence of the King, the Court, and a most crowded assembly, among whose victims were included Dr. Augustine Cazalla, a priest and canon of Salamanca. He had been chaplain and almoner to the Emperor, with his brother, Francisco de Cazalla, and their sister Beatrice, all the children of Pedro Cazalla and his wife, who were both of Jewish descent. They were condemned to the flames by the Inquisition, which also tore from its resting-place and burnt the body of their mother. In 1568 the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Bartholomew of Carranza, and Miranda, formerly deputy from the Spanish clergy to the Council of Trent, by dint of disputation with heretics, had been led to convictions which brought upon him the persecutions of the Inquisition. Among other accusations that were brought against him was the imputation of believing "that the Lord Jesus Christ has made such entire satisfaction for our sins, that no further satisfaction on our part is necessary." This archbishop had attended the death-bed of Charles V. in the convent of St. Just, and there spoken to the same effect, to the great scandal of the

other clergy who were present, the greater part of whom became his enemies.*

In the year 1570 the doctrines of the Reformation appear to have been completely crushed in Spain, and the persecutions of the Inquisition again turned against the concealed Jews or Mahometans. This tribunal exerted itself with less success, and apparently with far less zeal to eradicate infidelity and the teaching of the French philosophers, than it had used in its efforts to crush the Protestant faith. And how could it be otherwise? when superstition and infidelity, whether they allow it or not, are so closely allied! The Sadducees and Pharisees *agreed* to crucify our Saviour, and to persecute his witnesses and disciples. A warning of deep moment in these our days!

The short-sighted hatred of the Inquisition had rather converted the Judaism of Spain into a festering wound in the body of the nation, than effectually combated or uprooted it. The unity thus obtained was only in externals, while in secret the Jewish religion was propagated with a system of dissimulation which could not but exercise a most pernicious influence on character, and become the source

* See Llorente's History of the Inquisition, vol. iii., pp. 183—315.

of most revolting blasphemies against God and our Lord Jesus Christ. Unanimous testimony is borne both by Jewish and Spanish writers to the fact, that there is scarcely a family of note in Spain or Portugal which is not descended, either in the male or female line, from Jews, who had embraced Christianity by conviction or from other motives.

Is it, then, surprising that the religion their fathers had professed for so many ages should possess great attractions for their descendants while placed in the midst of a Church whose idolatry and saint-worship the Israelite was as much justified in condemning, as he was wrong in rejecting the suffering Saviour, who had been foretold by his own prophets? When, in addition to this, there sprung from the midst of the Papacy, and flourished in Spain, a sect whose doctrines inculcated "mental reserve," "simulation," and "hypocrisy," in matters of religion, is it wonderful that the Jews of Spain should also have had recourse to rabbinical subtleties to reconcile an outward profession of Christianity with an inward love and secret performance of the Mosaic worship? Hence arose the fearful evils which are said yet to exist in Spain, posts of dignity in the Church, the priesthood, and the cloister occu-

pied by men who in heart are Jews, and who meet at stated seasons to mourn over and abjure their outward profession of the Romish faith, and to curse, with fearful imprecations, the memory of Ferdinand and Isabella. No! it is "not by might nor by power" that Israel's conversion will be brought about, "but by my Spirit, saith the Lord," the God of Israel, his Redeemer.

The Inquisition itself, however unscrupulously supported, seemed but a half-measure for carrying out the system which had given rise to it, as long as there remained a single Jew in the kingdom of Spain. And yet twelve years intervened between the introduction of the new Inquisition against concealed Jews and the edict of banishment passed upon those who were so openly. During the interval the latter were always on good terms with the Government, and even admitted to high offices at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. Yet they seem to have themselves given some cause for suspicion, for complaint, and even for fear. For example, in the year 1480, when the Cardinal of Mendoza had published a catechism for the use of baptized Jews, there appeared from the pen of a Jew a virulent attack upon the Roman Catholic religion, as

well as upon the Catholic sovereigns. The Israelites were also accused of endeavouring to make proselytes, not only among the new Christians, but among the old, whose descent could not be traced to Jewish parents, and seem to have succeeded in their efforts, especially in Andalusia. They were at that time formidable by their number, their riches, their influence, and their relationship with the Conversos in all parts of the country, as well as by the influence they might acquire in allying themselves with an infidel or hostile power.

A Spanish author of Jewish race has remarked, that if the Israelites had not kept their eyes fixed on Palestine alone as their own country, they might successfully have overturned the Spanish government. The edict for their expulsion, which had long been threatened, was finally promulgated in the year 1492. This took place immediately after the reduction of the last Moslem kingdom in the Peninsula. From Granada, its capital, was dated the decree which forbade any Jew by religion to remain in the Spanish dominions after a period of four months. They were not to carry away gold, silver, or jewels, beyond a certain amount; but they might sell their

houses and lands, and export the value in bills of exchange.

The news of this edict came upon the Jews like a thunder-clap. They were soon reduced to the verge of despair, when every appeal to the compassion of the King and Queen had been defeated by the opposition of Torquemada. They even offered immense sums of money, as a price for remaining in a country where they had already been established for so many centuries. But the merciless Torquemada presented himself before the King, with a crucifix in his hand, and asked, for how many pieces of silver more than Judas he would sell his Saviour to the Jews?

This barbarous mandate was put in force by equally barbarous measures. The permission which was granted to the exiles to dispose of their property became, in reality, a mere mockery, for in the great need of the moment, and the short space of time allowed, to use the words of a cotemporary, "a house was sold for an ass, and a vineyard for a piece of linen." Amidst all this iniquity and ill-treatment, the unhappy exiles, with their wives and children, were transported by ships to the coast of Africa. To many of them the distress was so insupportable that their long-tried constancy

gave way, and they returned to Spain to demand baptism, and expose themselves as New Christians to the severities of the Inquisition. Hence arises, in part at least, the different computations that have been made of their numbers, which some have stated as amounting to 800,000, others to 300,000, while a Spanish statistic of the population numbers the exiled Jews at 27,000. In this latter computation we must not reckon those who returned to Spain, or any of those who subsequently quitted the country by degrees, according as the fury of the Inquisition was more or less on the alert against the Conversos. In after-times, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many found a secure and peaceful asylum in the Protestant Netherlands. A Jewish author of Amsterdam thus speaks of these refugees: "Many of the canons, inquisitors, and bishops in Spain are of Jewish descent; some are still Jews at heart, though, for the sake of temporal advantages, they feign themselves to be Christians; some of these at times repent and leave the country as best they can. In this city of Amsterdam, and in other countries, there are Augustins, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, who have cast off idolatry. In Spain

there are a great many distinguished bishops and monks, whose parents, brothers, and sisters, live in this town and elsewhere, where they can profess Judaism."

Among the thousands and ten thousands of Jews who quitted Spain in consequence of the decree of Ferdinand and Isabella, the most highly gifted in rank and fortune first sought refuge in Portugal. John II., who was at that time King, afforded them an immediate asylum and fair privileges, on the payment of a tolerably high capitation tax. Multitudes of these fugitives established themselves in the frontier cities of Braganza, Alisanda, Elvas, and others. At Oporto the spacious street of San Miguel was given to thirty Jewish families, as a place of residence. Immanuel Aboab, author of the "Nomology," remembered having seen, in his childhood, the synagogues which belonged to the Jewish exiles from Spain in that city.

It is a mistake to assert, as some writers have done,* that the number of Jews in Portugal, before the arrival of the Spanish exiles, was small, and of no importance; for here, as in other parts of the Peninsula, frequent mention is made of them in its chronicles and

* See Jost, vii., 89, 90.

histories. Though Castile and Andalusia may boast of being the most ancient resort of the Jewish nation in this part of the world, yet in Portugal, also, they were early settled, and their influence was great in the earlier periods of the monarchy. Under Alphonso II. and his successors, from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth, almost without exception, the Jews were treated with much consideration. Indeed, Pope Gregory II., among other complaints against King Alphonso, with whom he was at variance, reproached him for nominating Jews in preference to Christians to the offices of state. There is no doubt, that, under this king, and more than one of his successors, the highest positions in the State were filled by Jews, and, as in Castile and Arragon, the Cortes urged remonstrances which were but little regarded, and the prohibitions they extorted were soon set aside. We have already mentioned the actual relationship to the Jewish nation in Portugal borne by King John I., the father of Don Duarte.*

The Jews in Portugal enjoyed extensive

* See an interesting dissertation, "Sobre os Judeos em Portugal," by Joaquim José Ferreira Gordo, in the eighth volume of the "Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa. 1823."

privileges as a completely separate portion of the community, yet on nearly an equal footing with the Christians. Their Chief Rabbi was nowhere so highly considered, or his position more carefully determined by the legislature. King John I. gave his sanction, at the request of Micer Moses, his chief physician, to a bull of Clement VI., confirmed by Boniface IX. in 1389, granting to the Jews free permission to celebrate their feasts, practise their ceremonies, and continue the full exercise of their religious worship, notwithstanding the violence and opposition of hot-headed fanatics.

Until the reigns of John II. and Don Manuel, we scarcely find any attempt to persecute the Jews recorded. From time to time the clergy and representatives of the people demanded an enforcement of the ancient edicts requiring the Jews and Moors to wear a distinctive mark on their clothes. To Alphonso V. complaints were made of the magnificence of their style of living, and the luxury they displayed in silken garments, fine horses, and splendid arms.

During the period of tranquillity which the Jews of Portugal enjoyed before the end of the fifteenth century, they applied themselves

diligently, not only to theology and Hebrew literature, but also to the study and investigation of science. A learned Portuguese, speaking of his own country in particular, says, that the inhabitants of that part of the Peninsula were indebted to the Jews for their earliest instruction in philosophy, medicine, botany, astronomy, and cosmography.* Alphonso IV., of Portugal, in the fourteenth century (1325—1357), trod in the steps of his maternal grandfather, Alphonso X., of Castile, and engaged with zeal in the study of astronomy, in which he was also assisted by learned Jews and Arabs. It was more especially in the reign of Don Duarte, that the science of navigation made rapid advances during the repeated voyages of the illustrious seaman, Prince Henry. The King himself took great interest in all studies connected with these voyages of discovery. He entertained at court the Hebrew astronomer, Abraham Guedetha, as cosmographer to the King, who combined with a knowledge of astronomy, not only its usual accompaniment

* Antonio Bibeiro dos Santos, da Litteratura Sagrada dos Judeos Portuguezes, in the "Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa," tom. ii., p. 236.

of astrology, but also an extensive acquaintance with geography. The principal counsellors of John II., when undertaking the expeditions that led to the discovery of a new way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, were the two Bishops of Viseu and Ceuta, and three Jewish physicians, José, Rodrigo, and Moses. Four of these learned men were also engaged in making charts to assist the two celebrated travellers in Abyssinia, Pero de Covilhao and Alphonso de Pavia. These four councillors have been reproached with dissuading the King from accepting the proposals of Christopher Columbus. To counterbalance this error, we may state that the first idea of the possibility of finding a passage to India was suggested by the observations of two Portuguese Jews, Rabbi Abraham de Beja and Joseph Zaphatero de Lamego, who had been sent by King John II. to explore Ormuz, and the coasts of the Red Sea. An investigation as to the best means of encouraging navigation, not along the coast only, but in the open sea, was confided by the Government, during the reign of this prince, to the celebrated German, Martin de Behaim, then established in the country, together with the before-mentioned Rodrigo and José.

The celebrated Don Manuel, surnamed the Lucky, who succeeded to the throne of Portugal after the death of John II., earned still more renown by the interest he took in the sciences of astronomy and navigation. In his reign Vasca de Gama first accomplished a passage to India round the Cape, which contributed to open a new era in the history of the world, as well as in that of commerce. This monarch, who finally banished the Jews much against his own inclination, bestowed honour upon many of that nation, both before and after their compulsory baptism, and conferred upon them many privileges.

In their own literature and theology, less progress was made by the Jews of Portugal than those of Spain; fewer names of distinction have been recorded, and Hebrew poets were rare in that portion of the Peninsula. Yet academies and learned men were not wanting, and the rabbinical school of Lisbon early gained distinction among the many Jewish institutions which sprung from the mother school of Cordova. It was gradually increased by numerous fugitives, who quitted Spain before the final catastrophe in 1492, compelled by local persecution, or other causes, to escape from Castile and Arragon.

During the five years that elapsed between their expulsion from Spain, and their banishment from Portugal, Lisbon became, for a moment, the centre-point of Jewish science and civilization.

It is worthy of remark, that the learned Jews who flourished in Portugal during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sprang, almost without exception, from one or two families. Such families, for example, as the Schem Tovs, the Yachias, and the Abarbanels, produced theologians and rabbinical or cabalistic writers, both in Hebrew and Arabic. The two last-mentioned families boast both a long series of learned and distinguished ancestors, and a descent from the family of David. Numerous Yachias, who have distinguished themselves by their knowledge of Hebrew and the theology of their nation, are famed, not only in Portugal, but also later than 1457, at Constantinople, and in other cities.

The distinguished author, Don Isaac Abarbanel, was born at Lisbon, in the year 1437, of a family from Seville who had long been established there. While councillor to King Alphonso V., he was as celebrated for his enlightened views and knowledge of public

affairs as for his great excellence as a Hebrew commentator and expounder.* After the death of that monarch, he was suspected of having taken part in the conspiracy of the Duke of Braganza against his son and successor, John II., and was compelled, in 1482, to leave Portugal suddenly, to escape the effects of an accusation, which he declared to be entirely without foundation. He was not only welcomed by the Jews of Castile and their learned men, but also favourably received by Ferdinand and Isabella, who confided to him and Don Abraham Senor the administration of their financial affairs. This, however, did not procure him any exception from the great tribulation which fell upon the Jews in Spain a few years after. Abarbanel is said to have been deputed with the proposals made by the Jews to the Catholic sovereigns, which Torquemada so boldly and adroitly turned aside. Abarbanel shared the fate of his nation, and was banished from Spain on account of his religion, as he had been before from Portugal for political reasons. Not venturing to return thither, he sought refuge in

* See the *Bibliothecæ* of Wolf, De Castro, De Rossi, and Barbosa.

the kingdom of Naples, where many of the Jewish exiles had already found an asylum, and where they had been known and tolerated for ages. There he was again employed at the Court, and faithfully served King Ferdinand and his son, Alphonso II., until the invasion of the French under Charles VIII. Abarbanel shared in this misfortune also; he accompanied Alphonso to Sicily, and after his death went to Corsica. He ended his days at Venice, having been employed by that Republic in settling some differences with the Crown of Portugal. He was buried with great honour at the Jewish cemetery of Padua. His numerous theological writings are mostly the fruit of those days of retirement which his own and his country's misfortunes afforded him. His proud and ambitious spirit led him to seek by preference the worldly duties of a politician, while he gave free vent to his inveterate hatred against the persecutors of his people, and, alas! against the Christian religion also, in his works of Theology and Rabbinical Judaism. He has left an elaborate Commentary on the greater part of the Old Testament, especially Moses and the prophets,—a treatise on the articles of the modern Jewish faith, called "Rosch Emouna," and a work on the

unfulfilled prophecies of the restoration and glory of Israel, called, "Maschmiah Yeschuah," &c. A chronicle he had written, of all the misfortunes which have happened to the people of God from the earliest days, has been lost.*

In viewing Abarbanel's character as a whole, we must class him rather among the brilliant intellects, than the noble characters of the dispersed of Israel. His sons took part in his misfortunes and his wanderings ; they also shared his fame, especially the eldest, Don Jehudah, better known as Leo Hebreus, the author of a philosophical treatise upon "Love," in Italian, which has since been often translated. Don Samuel, another of Abarbanel's sons,† appears to have embraced the Christian faith. Descendants of this illustrious family long continued to exist in the

* In judging the writings of Abarbanel, the estimate of their value, so well expressed by the learned Emperor Constantine, should be carefully noted : "Ex Abrabanele plura quam ex omnibus Hebraeorum doctoribus addisci potest, quippe, si quid in sacris litteris obscurius sit (nisi contra veritatem Christianam cum suis obnitatur), exarante." Don Nicolas Antonio says of him, "Si naturâ eum expendas, ingeniosissimus ; si a studiis, doctissimus ; si ab industriâ, totus labor."

† *Memorias da Academia de Lisboa*, ii., 399, 400.

synagogues of Amsterdam, Hamburgh, and London.

To return to the Jews in Portugal. King John II. having, in 1492, admitted to his dominions a certain portion of the Jewish exiles, began, the following year, to enter more fully into the views of the Catholic sovereigns. All who arrived in the country beyond a certain number of families, with whom he had made an agreement, were from that time looked upon as slaves; their children, torn from the hearts of their parents, or snatched from the bosom of their mother, were transported to the Isle of St. Thomas, and elsewhere.* Some check was put upon this horrible cruelty by the failing health of the King, and for other reasons. It ceased entirely when Don Manuel, the cousin and brother-in-law of John, who died without leaving an heir, succeeded him on the throne of Portugal. This prince began his reign with such generous and merciful decrees in

* Portuguese writers differ from the Jewish annalists, especially from Usque, in laying the blame of this ill-treatment exclusively on the people, and not on the King himself. Different accounts are also given of the conditions upon which King John II. granted, for a time, hospitality to the Spanish fugitives.

favour of the Jewish exiles, that, notwithstanding the persecution they soon after endured from him, his memory has always retained the esteem of their descendants, as shown by the surname of *El Rey Judeo*, given him in some family traditions.

It was entirely for worldly and political motives that Don Manuel, in 1497, so entirely changed his line of conduct. When he sought in marriage the Infanta Isabella, daughter of the Catholic sovereigns, and widow of Alfonso, the only son of John II., two conditions were imposed by Ferdinand and Isabella, without the fulfilment of which the Infanta herself positively declared she could not accept the proposals of the new King of Portugal. These were, a treaty with Spain in preference to France, with which country Portugal had hitherto maintained a peaceful alliance; and the banishment of the Jews from this country, as well as from Spain. King Manuel, in the warmth of his affection, agreed to both the proposals. Thus, against the advice of the King's most able councillors, a choice was offered to the whole body of the Jewish people in Portugal, either to receive baptism, or leave the country for ever. The consequences were the same as in Spain. The

Jewish population was divided. Some, with their families, abandoned for ever the soil of Portugal; others, not fewer in number, embraced, or feigned to embrace, the Roman Catholic faith. Among those baptized by force, we must reckon many children under fourteen years of age, who were taken from their parents, but committed to the guardianship of Portuguese families, to be brought up in the Christian faith, according to their station in society. Meanwhile, the measures taken by Don Manuel left the new Christians an easy opportunity for adhering in secret to their ancient religion; inasmuch as the Government pledged itself not to introduce the Inquisition for the first twenty years. This term was prolonged for another twenty during the reign of John III., the son and successor of Don Manuel. The Government interfered but slightly with the Jewish inhabitants of their East Indian colonies. Don Manuel himself protected the new Christians in every way in Portugal. He appointed them to the offices of the State, invited them to his Court, and very severely punished the instigators of a tumult, raised against them by the populace of Lisbon in 1506.

In the reign of his successor, Rome and the

partisans of the Inquisition began to take alarm ; for in Portugal also the introduction of Protestant doctrines had excited their wrath. The year 1536 witnessed the introduction of the Inquisition upon the Portuguese territory, and by its means a distinction was effected between old and new Christians. It did not, however, prevent many of the latter remaining Jews in secret, and even propagating their own religion. They were known to be Israelites, and acknowledged as such notwithstanding the rage of the Inquisition, which broke out upon them at intervals. In the dissensions which occurred at the death of the Cardinal King, Don Henry (1580), the new Christians formed an influential party in favour of Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, a natural son of the infant, Don Louis, by a Jewish mother. In 1660, soon after Portugal had asserted her independence, a singular conspiracy was formed conjointly by the new Christians and the Inquisitors, in favour of the Spanish Government against the house of Braganza, by whom the former had not been well treated. One of their body was executed in consequence of this insurrection. The distinction between old and new Christians, which Don Manuel had endeavoured to

abolish, and which, two centuries after, was again condemned by Don Luis da Cunha, then minister of state, was officially prohibited under the administration of the Marquis de Pombal, said by some to have himself, by birth, belonged to them. As lately as the eighteenth century, Lord Galloway, when ambassador at the court of Portugal, said in joke, "that the whole nation was divided into two parts, of which one awaited the return of King Sebastian, and the other the coming of the Messiah."* A late English traveller has made the remark, that truly Israelitish features are discernible in more than half of the population of Portugal.

We cannot but notice one striking fact in relation to the banishment and ill-treatment of the Jewish people. Ere a century had passed the flower of the youthful nobility of Portugal, with the King Sebastian at their head, were slain or made prisoners on the same coast of Africa, to which the unfortunate Jews had

* King Sebastian never returned to Portugal, after his disastrous expedition against the Moors of Africa, in 1578, where he doubtless lost his life on the same field of battle with the flower of his nobility. The common people in Portugal have persisted for two centuries, and even now still persist, in looking for the return of this prince.

not long before been so barbarously driven. Happy, by comparison, was the lot of those among the Christian captives who fell into the hands of African Israelites, from whom alone they received any compassion and assistance in their misfortunes.

A Jewish writer of the present day, not himself a descendant of the Sephardim, has said, "that of all the exiles and all the misfortunes which have lighted on the head of Israel, since his crown has fallen, none was so terrible, so eventful, or so fatal, as their expulsion from the Peninsula."* In fact, the dispersion caused by this catastrophe is, in some respects, even more remarkable than that which followed the destruction of Jerusalem, because this second dispersion speedily scattered the Sephardim also over every quarter of the globe. Shortly after the edicts of 1492 and 1497, Jews and new Christians were to be met with in the newly-discovered territories of America, both in the Spanish possessions and in Brazil, which had fallen to the share of the Portuguese. In Africa, Asia, and the Turkish Empire, their families and synagogues have been established, and have continued to

* Vorlesungen über die neuere Geschichte der Judea
Lowisohn. Vienna, 1820.

the present day, entirely apart from all other races of their nation. We will now give a brief account of the countries in which they have chiefly established themselves, and have remained the longest, ending with the country which has become a new central point for the dispersed of Judah,—the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

From time immemorial Africa has been an eventful country to Israel. Egypt, where their national history first began, was a resort for many of the nation in the times of the Grecian and Roman monarchies, as well as in the Middle Ages, while under the sway of Mahomedanism. From the days of Maimonides, Cairo, Damietta, and other Egyptian towns, have been celebrated for their rabbinical seminaries and Talmudic learning. We cannot doubt that a great number of the Spanish exiles sought refuge in a country already resorted to by numerous caravans of Jewish pilgrims, visiting the synagogue of that spot which popular tradition fixes upon as the birthplace of their great lawgiver. In the western parts of Africa, especially in the states of Morocco, the exiled Jews settled in great numbers. A communication had long been kept up between Spain and that country; and

now that an abode on the north side of the straits of Gibraltar was prohibited, nothing was more natural than their migration to the opposite coast. At Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Mequinez, Oran, Fez, and in the whole empire of Morocco, the Jews from Spain found numerous synagogues, some of which were noted for their men of learning. Yet, even here the Jewish population from the Peninsula has kept itself aloof and separate both from the Jews of Barbary and from the European or Frank Jews. They have never attained in Africa the high position they had held in Spain, or have subsequently reached in many parts of Europe. Though allowed liberty of conscience, and even protected by the Emperor, and the Barbary Beys and Deys, they were exposed both to the immense exactions of the rulers and to the ill-treatment of a fanatic populace. They were rigorously compelled to wear the black turban, and different coloured boots, that they might not be confounded with the Mahomedan population. Thus many circumstances concurred to depress the condition of that portion of the Jewish population of Spain who settled in Barbary. Here, however, as elsewhere, some individuals of that nation were employed by the sovereigns

of the country on important missions, and in affairs of state. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Don Samuel Palache was sent by the Emperor of Morocco as his agent to the Hague, where he died, in 1616, and was followed to the grave by the Prince Maurice, the States-General, and the Councillors of the United Provinces. In 1642, a Spanish Israelite, named Don Joseph Toledano, was charged by Muley Ismael, the Prince of Morocco, to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Republic of the Netherlands; the same Israelite had before rendered important services to this prince, when he first succeeded his brother, Muley Mahomet. Under the rule of both these brothers, the Jews and their synagogues enjoyed peculiar prosperity, and we find mention made of a prince of the captivity at their head. The affairs of finance and the negotiations with European powers were almost entirely entrusted to the Jews. In 1775 an Israelite, named Masahod de la Mar,* took up his abode, and established his family at Amsterdam, after being sent on a similar mission from Morocco to England and the United Provinces. At Oran, which was conquered by the Spaniards, under Cardinal Ximenes, in

* See Kœnen's History of the Jews in Holland.

1507, the Jews from Spain were permitted to reside upon sufferance. They were exemplary in their fidelity to the Spanish Government, and gained its esteem and favour by their personal services. The valiant families of Cansino and Saporta, originally from Arragon, served the King of Spain against his Moorish enemies in Africa; so that, when, in 1669, the Spanish governor forbade the Jews to remain any longer in Oran, he granted letters patent to the Saportas, making honourable mention of the services that family had rendered, ending with the remarkable declaration, that they were banished for no other reason but "because it was absolutely impossible for his Catholic Majesty to allow a Jew to remain within his dominions."

History takes but little note of the Jews in the Turkish Empire before the close of the Middle Ages, but soon after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, it became apparent that a large body of the Jewish people had formed a considerable part of the population in the metropolis, and in other parts of the empire.* The Spanish exiles did not introduce, but found a vast number of synagogues already established, and masters of

* See Jost. VIII. 50, et seq.

high repute, whose rabbinical lore was not much inferior in degree to their own during the Middle Ages. Constantinople, Jerusalem, Tiberias, Damascus, Aleppo, Nicopolis, and Salonichi, had become central points for Jewish literature and theology. The population in all these cities was rapidly increased by numerous detachments from Spain and Portugal. The new synagogues, however, remained distinct, preserving not only their own liturgy, language, and customs, but even continuing for a time to class themselves by the names of the cities and provinces they had formerly inhabited; thus their synagogues were long distinguished, as those of Arragon, of Toledo, of Lorca, Lisbon, &c.

One of the most important benefits which the accession of these thousands of Spanish fugitives, with their learned men, conferred on the Jewish communities of Turkey was the removal of their printing-presses, which were soon in full activity. At Constantinople and Salonichi, as well as many Italian cities, the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament were printed and abundantly circulated in Hebrew and Spanish, together with many Jewish commentaries and other writings which had hitherto remained in manuscript.

The social and political position of the Jewish population in the Ottoman Empire continued a prosperous one for many generations. With the exception of the popular feeling of prejudice against the descendants of Israel all over the world, and those temporary exactions against which no one in the East is secure, the Turkish Government was disposed to treat them with great liberality. They enjoyed complete freedom for commerce, manufacture, agriculture, and the possession of landed property. The financial affairs of the Sultan and chief officers of the state were chiefly confided to Jews, and physicians of that nation were received at Court with peculiar privileges. They reached the greatest height of prosperity in the later part of the sixteenth century, when Miquez, one of their brethren, was high in favour with the Sultan, Selim II. This Don Joseph Miquez, who has been as much maligned by Roman Catholic writers, as he is lauded by Jewish and Protestant historians,* was a Spaniard, who had emigrated on account of his religion. Having lived for some time at Antwerp, he made solicitation to the Duchess of Parma, Governess to the Netherlands, to obtain a residence

* See Strada, "Guerre des Pays Bas," 1566. Basnage, "Histoire des Juifs."

for his nation in that country ; but he failed, in consequence of the antipathy expressed by Philip II. to his proposals. He afterwards entered into negotiation with the Senate of Venice to obtain permission for the establishment of a Jewish colony on one of the islands belonging to that Republic. This project, also, having failed, he went to Constantinople, where his enterprising genius and great talents gained him so much favour with the Sultan, that the government of twelve islands in the Archipelago was committed to him by this sovereign. This appointment caused him to be surnamed by his brethren, " El Nassi," the Prince. In 1566, the Reformed Consistory of Antwerp received a letter from Miquez, encouraging the Protestants to hold out, because the Sultan Selim was forming designs against the Spanish monarchy which would soon compel Philip to think of other matters than oppressing the Netherlands.

In Italy, as well as Turkey, the influx of Spanish Israelites seemed to infuse fresh life and vigour into the literature and theology of the dispersed nation. The emigrants were, generally speaking, welcomed with kindness both by the magistrates of the Italian states and by their own brethren. In the kingdom of Naples, the Catholic King, being unable to

establish the Inquisition, could not allow them to remain. An edict of banishment was, in consequence, passed, and the exiles from Spain had again much to suffer from royal severity. Jewish writers say that these compulsory measures were only employed against the Sephardim.* The Emperor Charles did not show less cruelty in Italy, especially in the case of two Israelites, David Reubens and Solomon Malcho. The latter, a native of Portugal, baptized by force in his childhood, filled the office of Private Secretary to the King. Reubens came to him, on his return from Asia, with accounts of the lost ten tribes, and wrought so powerfully on his convictions, that he not only returned to the faith of his fathers, but made an attempt to bring over Francis I. and the Emperor to the religion of Moses. Francis I. took the matter in jest, but the Emperor immediately handed over the unfortunate Malcho to the secular power at Mantua, by which he was condemned to the flames in 1536.

In the Ecclesiastical states, and especially at Rome, the exiled Jews were but little persecuted. The Popes, as we have before observed, waged war with their books, rather

* See Orobio de Castro, p. 208.

than with themselves. The new Christians lived in far greater security from the Inquisition in the Papal States than in Spain and Portugal. Alexander VI., when they were first banished from Spain, gave them his assistance at a time when they were looked upon with a degree of jealousy by their co-religionists at Rome. The Spanish synagogues were still more flourishing in other cities, as at Ancona, Pesaro, Padua, and Leghorn, which to this day contains the handsomest structure of the kind in Europe. The Government of Venice often confided its most important missions to men of the Jewish persuasion; and to this Republic, Dr. Juda Lumbroso, from Tuscany, after having long served the Grand Duke, retired, that he might live in peace in the exercise of the Jewish religion.

One striking consequence of the Jewish emigration to Italy, was the establishment and multiplication of the Hebrew printing presses, in more than one of its cities. Since the latter half of the fifteenth century had commenced, the art of printing, then newly discovered, had begun to rival, if not to take the place of, manuscript. The Jews of Spain and Portugal had, for many years, excelled all

their countrymen in the number and beauty of their written copies of the Pentateuch and other holy books. When, in 1471, the Jews in Italy began to set up Hebrew presses, their example was soon followed at Lisbon. The first Hebrew book printed in the Peninsula is dated from Lisbon, 1485. It was the Book of the Way of Life, "Seper Orach Chaim," by Rabbi Jacob Ben Asher. In 1489, a Hebrew Pentateuch was printed at Lisbon, and in 1494 a second press was set up at Leira, which produced the Greater Prophets in the original. Three years after, the edict of banishment was promulgated, which abolished, for ever, the printing of Hebrew in Portugal. Not only were books in that language prohibited, but even the use of the presses in publishing Greek, Latin, and Portuguese works was rendered null by the great privileges granted to strangers in preference to the new Christians of the country. All these circumstances combined led the Jews of Portugal to devote themselves to the improvement and extension of the presses already established in Italy, and to erect new ones, whose ramifications extended to Constantinople and Salonichi. The most celebrated of all was the press established by the

Jews of Spain and Portugal at Ferrara, under the superintendence of the celebrated Abraham Usque, son of Solomon, and brother of Samuel, Usque. The Bible of Ferrara, containing the Spanish version of the Old Testament, is one of the most famed productions of the Jewish press in Italy. This version was published under the superintendence of the learned editor himself and his fellow-labourer and coreligionist, Yom Tov Athias, and appears in two different forms, which have been wrongly looked upon as different editions. In both, the text, with few exceptions,* is word for word the same; there is some difference in the headings of the chapters. In some copies the date is given according to the Jewish Æra, 14th Adar, 5113; in others, according to the Christian style, May 10th, 1553. The dedication in the earlier copies is to Dona Gracia Nasi, a Jewish lady of distinction, mother-in-law to Don Joseph Miquez; in the later ones to Hercules de Este, Duke of Ferrara. In some editions the names of the editors are written Duarte

* The principal variation is in Isaiah vii. 14, where the word Hagnalma is translated in some copies by Virgem, virgin; and in others by Moça, damsel.

Pinhel,* Portuguese, and Jerome de Pargas, Spaniard; in others, Abraham Usque, Portuguese, and Yom Tov Athias, son of Levi Athias, Spaniard. It is clear that one of these editions was intended for Jewish, and the other for Christian readers.

It would be vain to attempt in a book like this, to enter into many details concerning the lives and writings of the Spanish exiles who distinguished themselves for their learning. We may just give the names of Rabbi David Ben Joseph, Rabbi Joseph Ben Don David Ben Joseph, Rabbi David, Rabbi Gedaliah, Rabbi Jehudah, with many illustrious members of the family of Yachia; Dr. Jacob Mantinus, the translator of many works of Aristotle, Avicenna, and Averrhoes into Latin, Rabbi Jacob Berab, and Rabbi Joseph Ben Ephraim Caro. These and many others quitted the Peninsula either as children or as grown-up men; they afterwards established themselves and published their books at Imola, Padua, Ferrara, Constantinople, Salonichi, and

* Duarte Pinhel is the Portuguese name, and Abraham Usque the Jewish name of the same editor; and so, Jeronimo de Vargas is the Spanish, and Yom Tov Athias the Jewish name of his fellow-labourer. Thus there were not, as is often thought, four, but two editors.

especially at Saphet, in the Holy Land, where, as well as at Jerusalem, there was always a congregation of learned Sephardim.

Among these exiles we may look with thankfulness upon many sincerely converted to the Christian faith. A learned Portuguese Jew, surnamed, after his conversion, John Hatobel, (the baptized,) published a version of the Psalms, with the title of "Consolation of Christians, and Light for the People of Israel," besides a catechetical dialogue on the Christian faith, with quotations from the Rabbins. Another Israelite, of the same race, but born and educated at Saphet, in rabbinical theology, was Judas Jona, who long governed the synagogue at Hamburgh. He was converted to the Christian faith in Poland, and, after many remarkable reverses, gave instruction in Hebrew to Bartolocci, and suggested to him the idea of his "Bibliotheca Rabbinica."

There are three more exiles of note to mention before taking leave of Italy. The first, Rabbi Joseph Ben Joshua Ben Meir, born in the year 1496, at Avignon, of Spanish parents, who removed first to that city and afterwards to Genoa. He wrote in Hebrew a universal history, of which the first part described all the principal events from the Crea-

tion of the world to the year 1520, in which year the author lost his father. The second part relates with great detail the history of events that happened in his own lifetime till the year 1553. He introduced into this chronicle—written in the style of the historical books in the Bible—many particulars concerning his own nation, his family, and household.* The preface begins with a genealogy, after the manner of Jewish writers of his time and country:—"Thus writeth Rabbi Joseph, the son of Joshua, the son of Meir, the son of Juda, the son of David, the son of Moses, a descendant of the Cohens (priests) who came from Avitium,† in the country of Spain." The ancestors of the author had retired to Avitium, or Benevente, as he relates in his chronicles, in

* This preface, omitted in the edition by Proops of Amsterdam, (1733,) is found in the Venetian edition of 1554, from which the English translation was made by Dr. C. H. F. Biallobotzky. London, 1835.

† It is thus I think we should read, and not Goite, (גואיטי,) and not Avitium (אוואיטי) as the English translator has rendered it. Compare the chronicle itself for the year 1431, where the translator himself thus renders the Hebrew word, and makes the remark that, by Avitium we must understand Benevente, in the kingdom of Leon. We must also in the same place read Cuença, and not Coinça, and which is equally represented by the Hebrew letters קויאינקְה.

consequence of a great tribulation which fell upon the Jews of Cuença, in Castile. Rabbi Joseph has also written in Hebrew another "Chronicle of the French Crusades," and of "Wars between Christians." Both these works, in spite of the great defects common to all Jewish historians since the days of Josephus, have yet been valuable as books of reference to superior historians in our own day.

To a rather earlier period belongs another Jewish historian of Spanish birth, who has related in Hebrew the reverses and persecutions endured by his brethren, both in the Peninsula and elsewhere. This was Rabbi Salomon Ben Verga, who was born in 1450, and practised in Spain as a physician. His "Sceptre of Judah," composed in part from notes left by his father, and afterwards continued by his son, Rabbi Joseph Ben Salomon Ben Verga, has been translated into Latin, and several of the modern languages. The book itself tells us that its author was employed by the Spanish synagogues in several difficult negotiations during the later years of his residence in the Peninsula. We have but few particulars of his life, after he shared in the banishment of his brethren; even the year of his death is unknown. It is probable that

he lived for some years in Egypt, for his book, which has obtained some celebrity, was printed in the original at Venice.

Among all the works of the Spanish and Portuguese exiles at this memorable, and at the same time terrible period, there is, perhaps, not one so full of deep feeling and worthy of interest, both in its form and contents, as that of Samuel Usque, entitled, "Consolation for the Sorrows of Israel." He published it first in Portuguese, his mother tongue, and afterwards in Spanish,—the language of his father's family. Both the one and the other were speedily placed by the Inquisition on the list of prohibited books.* In a preface addressed to the "exiled nobles of Portugal," he gives his reasons for the object, the language, and the subject of the work. It consists of three long dialogues, in which the sins and tribulations of the Jewish nation during the existence of the first and second temple, as well as after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, are related, lamented over, and alleviated by the blessed promises of God concerning the future restoration and glory of Israel. The persons

* His "Consolaçao as Tribulações de Israel" was first published at Ferrara, 1553, by Abraham Usque, brother of the author, and was dedicated to Dona Gracia Nasi.

who take part in these dialogues are three shepherds. The first Israel, under the name "Icabo," or Jacob, (which, by a kind of rabbinical play on the word, bears allusion to the name which Eli's daughter-in-law gave to her child,) with his two friends, Numeo and Zicareo,—names that, in the Hebrew, bear the signification of consolation and remembrance. The replies of the two latter speakers to the tragical lamentations of Icabo are drawn from a remembrance of God's judgments on the enemies of Israel, and the magnificent predictions of the prophets, which are summed up together in a poetical paraphrase of the 126th Psalm. Oh that Israel's belief and contemplation of all God's promises to the captives of Zion were Yea and Amen in Jesus Christ, and him crucified!

Abraham Usque, the famous printer, a brother of Rabbi Samuel, composed a Spanish liturgy for the feast of the new year and the great day of Atonement. Another Usque, whose name of Salomon leads us to think of the father of Abraham and Samuel, wrote a Spanish translation of Petrarch, a tragedy of Esther, and a hymn on the Creation.

Shortly after the passing of the edicts in 1492 and 1497, many Jewish emigrants sought

a refuge on the northern side of the Pyrenees; and we never find that their tranquillity was in any way disturbed by the French kings. Half a century later these emigrants obtained from King John II. letters patent, securing to them, under the denomination of Portuguese, their entire liberty, and many desirable rights and privileges. These letters were registered by Parliament in the year 1550.* Subsequent kings confirmed these rights, and at all times protected their Portuguese subjects from any violence or ill-will felt against them on account of their religion. When the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV., this legal toleration seemed for a moment in danger, though no evil consequences finally ensued. An effort made in the reign of Louis XV. to cut short their privileges, likewise fell to the ground. In consequence of the annexation of Alsace to France towards the close of the seventeenth century, that kingdom contained three or four very different races of Jews within its territory,—those that belonged originally to France, those of Alsace, who were German Jews, the Italian Jews of Avignon, and the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who were chiefly settled at

* "Recueil de Lettres patentes en faveur des Juifs Portugais." Paris, 1765.

Bayonne and Bordeaux. The Spanish exiles who established themselves in France were, generally speaking, more distinguished by a high reputation for probity and by great wealth than, as elsewhere, for their learned men and literary productions.* Yet some names of note have been already recorded in France, to which we may add that of Pereira, librarian to the King at Paris in the eighteenth century, who had the honour of anticipating the celebrated Abbé de l'Epée in his plans for instructing and communicating with the deaf and dumb.

Several manuscript records preserved in the Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam show that a communication was held in the year 1622 by Christian IV., of Denmark, with that synagogue, for the purpose of engaging some of its members to establish themselves in his dominions, with a promise of entire liberty of conscience, freedom of commerce, and special privileges.* It is a fact, that early in the

* Beugnot says, "A tradition we cannot disbelieve teaches us to revere them, and point them out as models to their fellow-countrymen."

"MS. Memorias do Establecimento e Progresso dos Judeos Portuguezes e Espanoles en esta famosa Cidade de Amsterdam." Ae. 5529 (1769), por David Franco Mendes.

seventeenth century families and synagogues of Portuguese Jews were settled and flourishing in the Danish states, chiefly at Holstein. At Copenhagen, also, they had a community, but their settlements at Gluckstadt and Altona have long been their chief establishments in that part of the world. With the exception of a few disputes with the magistrates and the Lutheran clergy, (chiefly on account of marriages between uncle and niece, which are allowed by the Jews,) they have enjoyed much peace and prosperity in both those cities.

At Hamburgh, their well-being has been even more remarkable, and the protection granted to Jewish refugees by the King of Denmark seems to have been one of its principal causes. We know, from the history of commerce, the spirit of rivalry which has ever existed between this free Imperial city and the commercial towns of Holstein. Altona in particular was feared as a rival by the magistrates of Hamburgh, when they beheld her enriched by the establishment of a Jewish population, with its wealth and important mercantile connexions. Notwithstanding the opposition of some of the citizens and the Protestant clergy, and in spite of the complaints of the Emperor—that a city which

had expelled Roman Catholics should admit Jews,—the magistrates of Hamburg considered themselves compelled, by their commercial position with respect to Altona, not only to admit, but to confer many privileges upon the Portuguese Jews. Since that time, Hamburg, as well as Amsterdam, has been honoured with the appellation of “Little Jerusalem.” The synagogues in that city have kept up a close connexion with those of Amsterdam, by means of a constant correspondence, and of the intimate family connexion subsisting between the inhabitants of the two cities. Among the most distinguished Rabbins who have adorned the synagogue of Hamburg, we may mention the Rabbi David Cohen de Lara, in high esteem among Christians also, as the author of a Talmudic Lexicon, which he was prevented from completing by his death, in 1672. The Pastor, Edzard, who had much at heart the conversion of Israel to the true Messiah, had many interviews with this learned Israelite, from which he was sometimes led to look for a hopeful result; but in what faith the learned Rabbi of Hamburg died has remained uncertain.

The social prosperity enjoyed by the Jews of Hamburg was much advanced by the high

honour awarded to some distinguished families who were employed as agents or residents by different foreign powers. The kings of Denmark, the kings of Portugal, after the succession of the house of Braganza, in 1640, and also Queen Christina, of Sweden, employed a notable member of the synagogue as their representative in the city of Hamburg. By the last-named country, this charge was entrusted to Don Manuel Texeira, whose father, Don Diego Texeira Sampaio, had received, in 1657, from Frederick III., of Denmark, an Act granting complete freedom and great privileges to the Portuguese Jews, which were afterwards confirmed by Christian V. About fifty descendants of the family of Texeira, in the direct male line, are now living at Amsterdam. In other parts of the ancient German empire, in Poland, and in Russia, there may be a few individuals, or even single families, who have preserved a memorial of their southern origin ; but they have never formed a synagogue either among Protestants, Roman Catholics, or Greeks.

The country which has decidedly shown the greatest favour, and afforded the warmest hospitality to the scattered Israelites of Spain, has been, since the close of the sixteenth cen-

tury, the reformed and emancipated Republic of the Low Countries. It was, indeed, a striking interposition of Divine Providence which brought the epoch of the Reformation so near to the time when the Jews were banished from Spain and Portugal, which also brought about in Holland, half a century after, that memorable struggle of four-and-twenty years for religion and liberty, of which one result was to provide a place of refuge and hospitality for the descendants of Abraham. When the first Jews, or new Christians from Spain, made their appearance in the Low Countries, there remained not a vestige of those French and German Israelites whose troubles and calamities we have before related. The first indication of this re-establishment of the Israelites in the southern part of the united provinces is found in the year 1516. At that time, some refugees from Spain presented themselves to Charles V., the grandson and successor of Ferdinand and Isabella, in order to renew the entreaties and the offers made by the Jewish nation for permission to reside and exercise their religion in his dominions. Their appeal was unheeded; for severe edicts entirely excluded new Christians from Holland as well as Spain (1532—1549). We

have already noticed the ineffectual attempt made in the reign of Philip II., by Don Joseph Miquez. And yet, notwithstanding these edicts, many Jews were to be found in these provinces before, as well as after, their separation from Spain, holding the same position as those who remained in the Peninsula. Their religion had long ceased to be tolerated; but by practising it with the greatest secrecy, they lived and prospered under Spanish names, and among Spanish families and connexions. Both at the Court of Madrid and in the Government of the Spanish Netherlands at Brussels, descendants of Israel were to be found, who afterwards, either alone or with their families, quitted the Church of Rome to make an open profession of Judaism at Amsterdam. At Antwerp, also, the concealed Jews were very numerous, and had established academies for the study both of Hebrew and Spanish literature. The ancestors of many families who have since settled either at Amsterdam or the Hague, long resided at Antwerp. Among them was Don Manuel Alvarez de Pinto y Ribera, in 1640, Gentleman of the Household to the King of Spain, and Knight of the Order of St. James, from whom descended the family of De Pinto, well known in the syna-

gogue of Holland ; Don Francisco de Silva y Solis, afterwards Marquis of Montfort, who, at the head of his company, when serving under the Emperor Leopold I., contributed greatly to the defeat of the French Marechal de Créqui in the campaign of 1673 ; Don Antonio Lopes Suasso, agent of the King of Spain, and invested by that prince with the barony of Avernas le Gras, in Brabant. It was this Baron Suasso who, when afterwards established at the Hague, offered to William III., in 1628, a million of money for his expedition to England, to be repaid only in case of success.

Most of these Spanish and Portuguese Jewish families established themselves within a short interval in the Protestant Low Countries, to seek there complete freedom for the exercise of their own religion. Their first settlement at Amsterdam was made on the side of East Friesland. It was from Embden (a town of deep interest to Holland in the history of its Reformation), that, in the year 1594, ten individuals of the Portuguese families of Lopes, Homen, and Pereira came to Amsterdam, where they soon resumed their original Israelitish name of Abendana. They were accompanied by a German Rabbi from the

town of Embden, by whom afterwards many others who sought refuge in the capital of Holland were circumcised; to his posterity, the synagogue of Amsterdam granted, in return, many privileges, especially a perpetual right of membership. All the writings and memorials of the synagogue agree, that since the year 1596, the Great Day of Atonement has been celebrated by a small community of Portuguese Jews at Amsterdam. The mayor of the town having surprised the assembly, took it at first for a meeting of the Roman Catholics, which, at that time, was prohibited; when better informed, he still left them entirely unmolested. In 1598, the first synagogue was built in that capital, of which one of the chief founders was the agent, Don Samuel Palache, whom we have before mentioned. Ten years after, the increase of the population required the erection of a second synagogue, and in 1618 of a third. In 1639, the three were united to form, from that time forward, one single and inseparable community of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, which, as a consequence of its constantly increasing numbers and prosperity, founded, in 1675, a handsome synagogue, situated in that part of the town where the refugees from the Penin-

sula had first established themselves in the neighbourhood of the Amstel. This dedication was, at the same time, the seal of a perfect union between the different bodies, who, as we have seen, before the year 1639 possessed each their separate synagogue and administration. It also entirely reunited the two parties which had been formed on the appearance of the false Messiah, Sabbathei Sevi, which, in the year 1666, had threatened to divide the synagogue. The treaty of union between all the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam was ratified by the magistrates of the town, conformably to the wish of the rulers of the synagogue themselves, who, from that time, felt their decrees to be more firmly ratified by the authority of the Government.

During this interval, the German and Polish Jews had also established their synagogues in the capital of Holland. For a long time they had many difficulties to contend with; but in the year 1636 permission was at last granted to them to buy and appropriate to themselves the burying-ground of Muiderbank, at some distance from the city; and in 1656 they were allowed to erect a house of prayer. In after-times, this portion of the Jewish

population received a considerable accession. The Jews in Poland and Lithuania had endured great cruelties from the Cossacks and from popular disturbances, and had been obliged, in consequence, to leave the country. Three thousand Israelites embarked for the Texel, and soon received hospitality at Amsterdam, where they wished to establish themselves, but not without possessing some means of subsistence. To them, as to their brethren from Germany, was permitted a free exercise of their religious worship and the establishment of a synagogue; but soon after they were desired to form, together with these, one single congregation, and forbidden to assemble separately.

Thus, the Jewish population of Holland was divided into two separate and distinct bodies,—the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, and the German and Polish synagogue. However these two bodies might differ in their historical recollections, their habits, and customs, still both synagogues alike acknowledged their union in the law of Moses and the traditions of the Rabbins, their common descent from Abraham, and their expectation of the promises connected with that descent. They shared in the same rights and privileges,

and alike gave proof of their fidelity and attachment to the country of their adoption, and to its rulers and form of government.

The rights and privileges granted to both bodies of the Jews during the period which preceded the revolution of 1795 in Holland, were looked upon as important, both by those who granted, and those who received them. As to the magistracy, and other public offices, the State at that time intrusted them to none but those who belonged to the National Reformed Church. The Jews, on their side, everywhere regarded as strangers, (having their faces and their hearts turned towards Palestine and the promise of a coming Messiah), to use their own words, only requested from the Christian authorities, "a mild hospitality, or not too harsh an exile."* They could, therefore, easily content themselves with a degree of liberty, which, according to the opinion of the present day, "that all men are equal in the eye of the law," would be looked upon as insufficient. Liberty of conscience, the free exercise of their religion, the practice of their own laws and traditions, and

* The very expressions made use of by Joseph Athias in dedicating his edition of the Old Testament to the States-General.

even, with few exceptions, the observance of their national customs, were secured to them. Their trade was protected, their way of obtaining their livelihood rather assisted than hindered. Even their right to enforce obedience to the religion of their fathers, within the limits of the synagogue, by the use of discipline and excommunication, was acknowledged. All this compensated the Israelite of those days for his exclusion from public offices, even from those which were most in accordance with his taste and disposition, such as the dignity of professor, and the profession of the lawyer. They were also excluded from all guilds or companies, except those of the physicians and brokers, though this did not prevent their being employed by their own countrymen in any other profession or trade, provided they had received admission as citizens of the town. On the whole, a comparison of times and facts brings us to the conclusion, that the Jews, at least those exiled from Spain, were indisputably more prosperous under the limited and partial liberty which they enjoyed under the Republic and its stadholders, than under the unlimited freedom which modern constitutions seem to secure to them. Yet each period, especially for Israel, has a peculiar dispensation, and

assuredly the people have, of all nations, the least motive for retrograding, provided only they are not mistaken in the nature of that *progress* with which the spirit of the age would flatter them.

We have already said that, with regard to the internal administration of the synagogue, great liberty was left to the Jews themselves, who were considered on the footing of a nation apart. In Holland, however, they never attempted to confer the title of "Prince of the Captivity," or "Great Rabbi," as formerly, in Asia, in Spain, and Portugal, or even in Africa. A certain degree of jurisdiction was vested in the Parnassim (or rulers of the synagogue); but as this jurisdiction was limited to cases under a certain amount, it was, in fact, only a kind of arbitration, or lesser court of justice. At all events, it was very far from extending, as in former times, to the judgment of criminal cases. Lastly, the executive authority of the synagogue was not intrusted to the Chief Rabbi and his assistants (who were only consulted on questions of religion), but entirely to the Parnassim and the elders.

Altogether the settlement of the Jews in Holland, in the seventeenth century, though prosperous and endowed with many privileges, appears on a very inferior scale when com-

pared with the historical and literary memorials of their forefathers in the Spanish Peninsula. This inferiority is especially manifest in regard to theology, science, and poetry. The Hebrew tongue, it is true, was still carefully studied, and a succession to the line of its ancient masters thus more or less kept up; but the holy tongue was no longer in use for commentaries and paraphrases of Holy Scripture, as in the time of Yarchi, Aben Ezra, and Maimonides. Spanish and Portuguese were now the only languages employed by the learned Jews of the Peninsula, both for their writings and sermons. Yet the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have not been entirely deficient in works worthy of note on theology and philosophy, written by the Sephardim. We have only to consult the "Bibliothecas," from which we have already more than once made quotations, in order to appreciate the number of commentaries on Scripture, versions of the Hebrew, dissertations, sermons, religious and moral treatises, and poems, published during that period by the exiles from the Peninsula in Holland. Here we must content ourselves with mentioning only a few of the most celebrated writers and persons of greatest note, the better to exemplify the

character of this period in the history of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews.

Among the authors and learned men brought up in the synagogues of Holland, no one has been more generally known as a theologian than the Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel. Born at Lisbon, in 1604, he came, when a child, to Amsterdam, with his father, Joseph Ben Israel, who escaped, with some difficulty, from a violent persecution in Portugal. Gifted with an enlarged and penetrating mind, he early became familiar with the elements of Jewish theology under the tuition of Rabbi Uziel, and acquired also a knowledge of the Hebrew, Castilian, Portuguese, Greek, Latin, and Arabic languages. In his fifteenth year he was already listened to with interest as a preacher; and in his eighteenth he was chosen Chief Rabbi of one of the three synagogues at Amsterdam. He continued in this office till the time of his journey to England, soon after which we find him making efforts to negotiate with the Protector Cromwell, for the admission of the Jewish nation to Great Britain. On this occasion the University of Oxford conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine upon his son, Samuel Ben Israel. He returned, in 1658, from England, where

his mission had produced no immediate result, and settled at Middleburgh ; in the neighbourhood of which town the tomb of his son Samuel is still to be seen, who died some years before his father. Among his numerous works, written partly in Latin and partly in Spanish (some in both these languages), or as occasion required, in Portuguese and in English, we will here note only the most remarkable, viz., his "Treatise on the frailty of human nature, and man's inclination to sin," in which he combats the doctrine of Pelagius, but on grounds which the Christian Church looks upon as semi-Pelagian ;—the "Hope of Israel," to which we have already alluded ;— "Three books on the Resurrection of the dead;" and "The Conciliation," a work in which he endeavours, with much ingenuity, to reconcile the apparent contradictions of the Old Testament. This last work has gained for him the praise of even orthodox theologians of the Reformed Church, though on many accounts they were not in general disposed to look favourably upon him. To his exegetical and dogmatical works we may add several books relating to the Jewish Liturgy, the worship of the synagogue, and rabbinical ordinances. He rendered especial service to

his nation, by editing a Spanish version of the Pentateuch and Haphtorahs;* and to Christians as well as Jews, by editing several beautiful editions of the Hebrew Old Testament. His printing presses, superintended chiefly by his sons, passed, after his family became extinct, into that of the Athias's,† of Amsterdam, who in their turn bequeathed their presses to the equally celebrated family of Proops, belonging to the German synagogue of that city. Menasseh Ben Israel, taking into consideration the difference of time and place, may, in more than one respect, be compared with Don Isaac Abarbanel, with whose descendants he was connected by marriage. Like the celebrated Rabbi of the fifteenth century, Manasseh Ben Israel appears to have been more admirable in his learning than loveable in his character. At all events, modesty was not one of its pervading virtues, if we may judge from the manner in which he sometimes speaks of himself, and the way in which he is recorded to have conducted himself towards the syna-

* Lessons taken from the prophetical books.

† The States-General of the Netherlands presented to Joseph Athias a golden medal and chain, as an acknowledgment for his beautiful edition of the Hebrew Old Testament.

gogue and its rulers. Perhaps the great attention paid to him by many learned Christians of different denominations contributed to inspire him with too high an opinion of himself. The Roman Catholic theologian and orator, Padre Vieira, of Portugal, is said to have been more than once among his hearers; while Peter Daniel Huet, the learned Bishop of Avranches, visited and consulted him. In Holland, the Remonstrants and those who befriended them, as Grotius, Vossius, and Barlseus, gave him every proof of their interest and esteem. The Calvinists at that time were less favourably disposed towards the Jewish nation, some of them even thinking it right to oppose their admission and the toleration of their religion. In later times, when the future calling of Israel, according to the prophets, began to meet with more sympathy in the hearts of Christians, this less favourable disposition gave way in many to a conviction, that the residence of the children of Israel in a Christian country should rather be looked upon as a blessing.

The too well known Uriel da Costa * was

* His name when in Portugal was Gabriel da Costa, but he is more generally known by the Latinized appellation of A. Costa, which we find appended to his last work

long a cotemporary of Menasseh Ben Israel in the synagogue of Amsterdam, of whom it may be said, that both his life and death were, in a melancholy sense of the word, an "example." Born at Oporto, about 1590, of noble parents, he was brought up as became his birth by a father who, though descended from ancestors formerly brought by violence to a profession of the Roman Catholic faith, was himself a sincere Christian, of high and honourable character. His son's disposition was not altogether devoid of generosity and greatness of mind, and in his younger days he had some inclination to piety. Doubts, brought on by bold rather than deep speculation, estranged him in the first instance from the Roman Catholic religion, to lead him on afterwards from the Rabbinical Judaism of the modern synagogue to the most decided Sadduceism of ancient times. Being at twenty-five years of age canon and treasurer of a collegiate church in his native city, he sacrificed, without hesitation, his rank, his wealth, and his country, in order that he might freely profess, in Holland, the religion in which he then hoped to find rest for his troubled soul. His composed in that language, entitled, "Exemplar Vitæ humanae."

mother and younger brothers, led by his influence, accompanied him on his journey to join the synagogue at Amsterdam, where the family has ever since been established. But Uriel da Costa was as far from finding peace of mind in the Protestant Netherlands as he had been in Roman Catholic Portugal. *There*, he had cast off the New Testament together with the traditions of Rome; and *here*, he denied the Divine authority of the Old Testament together with the hated traditions of the Rabbins.

Thus was commenced in the newly-formed synagogue of Amsterdam the most violent struggle, perhaps, which has been recorded in the modern history of Israel between the sect of the Pharisees and that of the Sadducees. Here, however, there were not, properly speaking, two contending parties; it was one single individual who opposed a whole community holding Pharisaical tenets, and who displayed in this opposition a boldness of character which would be worthy of admiration in a better cause. The contest broke out with violence when Uriel had unfolded his whole system in a Portuguese work, entitled "Examination of Pharisaical Tradition." The book was not yet published, but was circulating in manuscript

among the members of the synagogue, when Dr. Samuel da Silva took up the pen against its author, and published also in Portuguese a "Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul," (1623.) In the striking preface to this work, the errors of Uriel are successively passed in review. These errors, taken all together, amount to the most complete and avowed Sadduceeism. The law of Moses was still looked upon by him as divine, but all tradition was rejected, and among traditions he denied "the resurrection of the dead and the life to come." The work of Da Silva, in which the writer of the "Examination" is only alluded to by his first name, out of respect for his family, is not wanting in power; its author declaims with considerable vehemence against his adversary, not, however, entirely without hope of bringing him round. Its effect was quite the reverse; for, during that same year, Uriel published the "Examination," enlarged by a refutation of Da Silva's treatise. The chief magistrate of the city of Amsterdam then took cognisance of the matter, and commenced judicial proceedings against the author of a work which openly denied the immortality of the soul. The copies were seized, and the

author arrested. His brothers,* who were entirely averse to his opinions, obtained his release upon bail, and the affair was compromised by the payment of 300 florins, and the confiscation of the books.

From that time the unhappy Sadducee wandered more and more widely in the path of error, and moreover gave up that complete openness of character with which, at any rate, the fatal warfare had hitherto been carried on. He cast off all belief in a direct revelation from God, and became, both in opinion and practice, a complete Deist; but, tired with a contest in which all were against him, and forsaken by even his nearest relations, he resolved at all events to effect an outward reconciliation with the synagogue. This was obtained by the mediation of one of his cousins,—a man possessed of weight and consideration in the community,—fifteen years after the disputes had commenced.

The contest, however, soon rekindled more fiercely than ever, to terminate only in the catastrophe, which ended the melancholy

* One of his brothers, Joseph da'Costa, was the President of the Parnassim, to whom Menasseh Ben Israel dedicated his Spanish edition of the "Hope of Israel," 1650.

career of the wretched Sadducee. Fresh declarations of his views concerning the law of Moses and the ordinances of the Rabbins were followed by seven years of complete isolation, apart from all his brethren, and in the midst of a nation whose language he could not speak. In this melancholy position he determined a second time to become reconciled to the synagogue, and to submit to the penance which it imposed with inexorable severity. The well-known **forty stripes save one* were not spared, though it is remarkable that after this instance, we find no mention made of their infliction in the modern history of the synagogue. The mind of the wretched unbeliever could not bear up against such a degradation. A few days after this exposure he put an end to his life with a pistol, after having, with a calmness which in such circumstances must excite astonishment, written his own biography

* This punishment, which was always inflicted within the walls of the synagogue, is well known from the mention made of it in the New Testament, 2 Cor. xii. 24; Acts xxvi. 11; Matt. x. 17. According to Jewish tradition this penalty was the next in degree to excommunication, and was not looked upon as peculiarly degrading. See Witsius in *Vitâ Pauli*, sect. i., who calls it “*excommunicatione minor atque honestior.*”

in excellent Latin, in which he protests with the greatest vehemence against the acts of the synagogue. This biography, entitled "Exemplar Vitæ humanæ," which is confirmed in every part by concurring testimony, fell into the hands of a distinguished personage at Amsterdam, who gave a copy of it to the Remonstrant Professor, Episcopius. This copy was left by him to his nephew and successor, Philip de Limborch, who published it, with a refutation of the erroneous opinions of its unhappy author.

Benedictus d'Espinosa, commonly called Spinoza, belongs to the generation which succeeded that of Uriel da Costa. Their lives and characters exhibit points of resemblance and of difference, both equally striking. Both were by birth Israelites from the Spanish Peninsula, and sprung from distinguished parents; both were cast off and condemned by their countrymen and by the synagogue; both, alas! were equally alienated from any belief in a personal and direct revelation of God to men. While one was lost in the dreary void of natural Deism, the other plunged into the depths of an elaborate system of Pantheism. One, carried away by the impetuosity of his character, threw down in-

discriminately error and truth, and thus fell a victim to his own madness ; the other, on the contrary, built up with astonishing tranquillity of mind and mathematical accuracy a system of philosophy and morals which has long survived its author ; nay, amid the moral and political agitation of the present century, has come to life again with renewed vigour.

It would be out of place here to discuss the system of Spinoza as unfolded by himself in his "Tractatus Theologico-politicus," (1760,) and in his posthumous writings, viz., his "Morals" and "Letters." In the historical view which we exclusively take we will merely remark, that the Pantheism of Spinoza, however far removed from God as revealed in the Old Testament, is yet distinguished by marked characteristics of an Israelitish origin. Spinoza was undoubtedly a Pantheist ; not in that grosser sense of the word which substitutes the whole existing universe—that is to say, a deity without life and reason—for the living God of creation, revelation and redemption. But he was so in that far more subtle, and therefore more dangerous sense, which attributes real existence to God alone ("the eternal and only Being,") and admits of no other existence, either material or immaterial,

visible or invisible, but as a modification of that one only Being, and not as a work apart from God. Thus, the Pantheism of Spinoza is, in fact, really derived, though by a polluted and unholy channel, from a name and a truth which had been revealed,—the name of Him who is “I AM,” the Jehovah of Israel. It was on this foundation that the Judeo-Spanish philosopher, though refusing to submit his intellect to the historical truth of the Old Testament, or to acknowledge any interference of God in the affairs of the world, whether by means of miracles or any other direct agency, formed for himself (out of an idea which he had borrowed from revelation) a system—we might almost say a religion—the most consistent, perhaps, and the most conscientious of any that have been devised without the pale of revelation. For, together with the religious system he had invented, he had linked an abstract, but apparently fair, form of morality. The two together furnish this conclusion: “We require to know God.” “To know him and to love him, without looking for reward, is, in itself, the principle of all duty and of all blessedness.” No one can deny the fact, that the practice of Spinoza was guided by these principles, or we might rather

say, that his whole system was the creation of a naturally elevated and noble character, joined to a profound and comprehensive intellect. The career of the celebrated Pantheist, after his expulsion from the synagogue, was short, and by no means eventful. We will, however, recount a few circumstances that are worthy of note. Born at Amsterdam, in 1632, of noble parents belonging to the Portuguese synagogue, Spinoza was in youth thoroughly instructed in the religion and theology of the Jews. He received lessons in Latin from the physician, Van Den Ende, whose sentiments are said to have influenced those of his pupil. The writings of Descartes, at all events, had a far greater share in making Spinoza a philosopher, and furnishing the basis upon which he built his famous system. His entrance on this career soon began to work in him a gradual alienation from the synagogue; he neglected its public services, and disputed with the Rabbins upon points of religion. Every effort to induce him to give up his opinions proved unsuccessful, and the division broke out publicly. Spinoza was censured by the synagogue, and even threatened with death by the multitude as he came out of a public meeting. He was thus obliged to leave

Amsterdam to save his life, and removed to Rynburg, near Leyden, then to Voorburg, and finally to the Hague. Scarcely had he left the capital, when the Rabbins pronounced upon him the great excommunication ; against which he wrote a long protest, but never published it. When thus cut off from the synagogue, he voluntarily gave up his share of the family property, and in future earned a scanty livelihood by preparing lenses and optical glasses, employing every leisure hour in the study of philosophy and the sciences. In order to devote himself more freely to these pursuits, he twice refused a professorship at Heidelberg, offered him by the Elector Palatine.

Though Spinoza lived in complete retirement, he maintained an extensive acquaintance and correspondence with friends and learned men, both in his own country and elsewhere. Whilst at the Hague, it appears that he was employed by the Pensionary, John de Witt, in some political negotiations, especially with the Duke of Luxembourg, at Utrecht, during the perilous year of 1672. When the Prince de Condé was with the French army in Holland, about the same time, he offered the philosopher a safe-conduct, that he might have the

pleasure of seeing and conversing with him. About five years after, Spinoza died of consumption, and was followed to the grave by a large attendance. All that is known of his private and domestic life bears the same impress of calmness, moderation, and dignity, which we have already noticed, and which might have made him an ornament of the Christian community. In Spinoza were to be found the seeds of a Pascal, if only he could have received Christianity, of which, indeed, he never spoke without respect as a Divine historical fact; if he had determined to examine its tenets apart from the artificial light of human speculation; if he could but have seen, that the highest deductions of reason lead us on to faith. But, alas! to him, as well as to many of his imitators, the admirers of merely human reasoning, those words of the Lord Jesus are applicable, that God "hath revealed unto babes things that are hid from the wise and prudent. Even so, Father! for so it seemed good in thy sight."

Dr. Isaac (formerly Don Bathason) Orobio de Castro is the representative of an entirely different party among the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, during a period which corresponds with the time of Spinoza, and reaches

beyond it to the latter half of the seventeenth century. Both the life and writings of this learned man bear the stamp of modern Pharisaical Judaism, a contrast alike to Infidel philosophy and to the Gospel of truth. He was the son of Jewish parents, who lived under the denomination of new Christians at Braganza, in Portugal, and afterwards at Malaga. Born in this town about the year 1616, and having studied at Alcala de Henarez, he taught medicine and metaphysics at Seville, not without falling under the suspicions of the Inquisition. Through the tale-bearing of a Moorish slave, who reported that a distinction of meats, and other tokens of Judaism, were to be met with in his house, Orobio fell into the hands of that fearful tribunal. After he had endured three years of imprisonment, and the infliction of unheard-of tortures, the Inquisition was still unable to convict him. Obliged, in consequence, to declare him only *suspected*, but not *convicted* of Judaism, it was content with compelling him to leave the country. Let us remark upon this occasion, a striking difference between the religion of modern Judaism, and the Christian faith. With the Christian, the first effect of faith is "confession" (Rom. x. 10); with the Jew, it is

the practice of the law, either in secret or openly, with permission in time of persecution to act as best suits the emergency of the moment. A striking and characteristic consequence this of the essential difference between a religion that teaches salvation through a living faith, and that which makes it dependent on outward meritorious works,—not, indeed, excluding martyrdom, but not requiring it as a matter of absolute necessity, when opportunity is offered for concealment or dissimulation. Thus Orobio could think he was faithful to his God, while in the midst of tortures he persisted in retaining his Judaism, and at the same time denying that he did so. When released, he settled at Toulouse, where he was appointed Professor of Medicine and Councillor to Louis XIV. At last, wishing to enjoy the free exercise of his religion, he left France, and at the age of forty settled at Amsterdam. He continued to practise as a physician in that city till the year of his death, 1686, and his descendants remain to this day in the capital of Holland. Among his numerous polemical works in defence of the Jewish religion, his controversy with Philip de Limborch was published by that learned Remonstrant, under the title of

"Friendly Discussion with a Learned Jew, on the Truth of Christianity." Other writings of Orobio's against Christianity remain to our day, and have circulated in manuscript among the Portuguese Jews. Similar manuscripts are to be met with in different libraries, the productions of the Rabbins Mortreira and Saporta.

Thomas (called, in the synagogue, Isaac) de Pinedo, who came, nearly at the same time as Orobio, to seek a refuge in Amsterdam from inquisitorial persecution, was more famed for his proficiency in Greek and the ancient classics, than as a Jewish theologian. Descended from the family of Pinheiro, of Franoso, in Portugal, he received his education at Madrid, where he was indebted to the training of the Jesuits for his literary attainments. He had already reached a mature age when the suspicions of the Inquisition obliged him to quit the scene of his studies and the society of his learned friends in the capital of Spain, to live in safety in the United Provinces. He differs from Orobio de Castro in this especially, that never, in any of his writings, has he attacked the Christian religion; on the contrary, he takes pleasure in acknowledging its beneficial influence in

society, though he does not spare the tribunal of the Inquisition. He finished and published at Amsterdam, in 1678, his edition of Stephanus Byzantinus ($\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\piολέων$), with a copious commentary, and dedicated the work to the Marquis of Mondejos, of the house of Mendoza, ever devoted to the encouragement of literature. The noble Marquis whom we have just named, warmly expressed in a letter to the Judeo-Spanish poet, De Barrios, his regret at the death of Pinedo, and more especially at his dying in the profession of Judaism.

The Jews of the Peninsula, even when exiled to the Low Countries, continued to set a high value upon the poetry of their ancestors, although the period of the great masters in modern Hebrew poetry had so long gone by. Even in Spanish and Portuguese poetry they made but moderate proficiency in Holland, and never, even in that, passed mediocrity. Yet poetical and literary associations, both for Hebrew and Spanish, were not wanting either in the northern or southern portion of the Netherlands, while distinguished families, such as those of Pinto, Belmonte, and Cariel, willingly threw open their houses on these occasions. Even the synagogue has witnessed within its walls, before

the reunion in 1639, the representation of pieces of poetry, much in the same fashion as the ancient mystery plays of Spain in the Middle Ages. Such a piece of poetry, composed by the Judeo-Portuguese, Rehuel Je-shurun (otherwise Paulo de Pina), was recited in 1624, in the synagogue of Beth Jahacob, by several of its most learned and distinguished members. In this poetical dialogue the seven mountains of Sinai, Sion, Hor, Nebo, Gerizim, Carmel, and Senir (Sirion), mutually dispute the right of pre-eminence, which is decided at last by the King, Jehoshaphat. Such entertainments, however, though not considered actually unlawful, were soon thought inconsistent with the holiness of a house of prayer. Besides the names of Peixoto, Reynoso, Antunes, Bueno, Uziël, Rosales, and Lobo, we find mentioned among the poetical geniuses at Amsterdam those of two distinguished women, Isabella Henriquez and Dona Isabella Correa. The latter was wife to the Lieutenant-Colonel Don Nicholas de Oliver y Fullana (in the synagogue, Daniel Juda), then in the Spanish service, and much esteemed as a cosmographer; he was a fellow-labourer with Blaeu, in the well-known Atlas of Spain and Portugal, which bears the name

of the latter. Another Spanish poet of Jewish race was Captain Don Miguel de Barrios, whose "Coro de las Musas," published before he made an open profession of Judaism at Amsterdam, is not wanting in poetical talent; at all events, it is infinitely superior to anything he wrote afterwards, when a member of the synagogue, under the Jewish name of Daniel Levi de Barrio. His later compositions consist chiefly of sonnets in praise of some victims of the Inquisition; of epithalamiums and other fugitive pieces, the principal value of which consists in the light they throw on some of the distinguished persons and families belonging to the synagogue.

The eighteenth century has witnessed an almost entire extinction of poetical genius among the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of Holland. Yet, from time to time, some few sparks of Hebrew poetry have appeared; for example, a metrical Hebrew version of Racine's "Athalia," by a member of the family of Franco Mendez, ever distinguished in the synagogue for cultivated talents, as well as high rank. At that time, there were some poets who attempted to write in Dutch, but their attempts never surpassed mediocrity, and partook of the frigid and constrained

style which characterizes all Dutch poetry towards the close of the eighteenth century.

In other branches of science and letters, the attainments of the Sephardim in Holland could never vie with those of their ancestors in the Spanish Peninsula; perhaps the intermingling of prosperity and oppression had exercised a happier influence than the repose which they afterwards enjoyed without interruption. In the United Provinces of the Netherlands the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue was peculiarly distinguished by the vast capital it had at command, and the extensive commercial relations in which its members were engaged with Spain, Portugal, Italy, the Levant, Brazil, &c.; by an unblemished celebrity for probity and honour, ever accompanying the immense riches and splendid style of living of its members; lastly, by the good and loyal services it had offered and rendered in more than one critical period to the country and the House of Orange. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the Republic of the Netherlands should, at all times, appear as a zealous protectress of the rights of its Jewish subjects among foreign powers.

It was equally natural that the great com-

mercial city of Amsterdam should be fixed upon as a centre of resort by the Portuguese emigrants to that country. While the Israelites who have escaped from Poland and Germany are scattered more uniformly over the surface of the provinces, the Sephardim, with few exceptions, have hardly any synagogues without the bounds of Holland. In the province of Utrecht, in whose chief city, by virtue of its ancient laws, their residence is still forbidden, they have a numerous and powerful settlement at Maarsa, a village which, it is said, the Jews once thought of purchasing for themselves, to make it an entirely Jewish colony. In Middleburgh, the capital of Zealand, they also, for a time, possessed a synagogue and burying-ground. There, among others, lived the Rabbi Jacob Juda Leon, whose dissertations on the structure of Solomon's Temple in Hebrew and Spanish, has obtained repute among Christians as well as Jews. At Nykerk, in Guelderland, there remain to this day the ruins of an Italian Portuguese synagogue. In Holland a considerable synagogue of the Sephardim long flourished at Naarden, and another at Rotterdam, where among the distinguished families we may mention that of

De la Penha; a member of that family named Alexander was Consul for his Catholic Majesty in that city. His brother Joseph, in 1697, received in feoff from King William the shores of Labrador, Coste Real, &c., in North America, which had been discovered by his vessels, and taken possession of in the name of the Prince of Orange. After Amsterdam, the prosperity and esteem gained by the Portuguese Jews has nowhere been higher than at the Hague. In that city many of the finest houses were built by them, and long inhabited by their descendants. Their synagogue is situated in one of the finest quarters of the town. It was during the second half of the seventeenth century that they erected their house of prayer and purchased their burying-ground. One of the first Israelites, however, to whom letters of naturalization were first granted at the Hague in 1672, was of Polish origin; his descendants, the Polak Daniels, are still living, and in high esteem in that city.

It was during this time, and the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, that the synagogue of the Sephardim at Amsterdam and the Hague reached its greatest splendour. Among the families distinguished either by

ancient historical reminiscences, by immense riches, or by great political talent, sometimes by all these together, we may add to those of whom we have already made mention, the names of Osorio, Levi Ximenes, Pereira, Salvador, Lopes de Liz, Machado, Capadose, De Souza, Bueno de Mesquita, De Azevedo, Abendana de Brito, Da Veiga, Navarro, De Almanza, and many others.

More especial mention must be made of some individuals and families who have distinguished themselves in Holland, as their ancestors had done in Portugal, by their public services and their talents in the diplomatic line. At Amsterdam, as at Hamburg, the crowned heads of Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, as well as the German states, employed as their agents and residents distinguished members of the Portuguese synagogue. Thus, Francisco Molo, who took up his abode at Amsterdam, from the year 1679, as resident for Poland, rendered eminent service in upholding the cause of the European alliance against the ambitious designs of Louis XIV. —a service which the States of Holland thought fit to recompense, among other favours, by a remission of taxes, which was then seldom granted to any diplomatists not

resident at the Hague. Sir William Temple, who was at that time in Holland, mentions his surprise at two things which he observed: *one* was, that the Jews, in spite of the cruelties they had suffered in Spain and Portugal, ceased not to make use of both these languages in their families as a mother tongue; the *other*, that the Kings of Spain and Portugal on their side employed, as their emissaries and residents at Amsterdam, Jews, who came originally from their own countries. For instance, during more than a century and a half, the family of Nunez da Costa (in the synagogue, Curiel) held the office of general agent to the Crown of Portugal, with the title of gentleman of the royal household. In the same manner, Don Manuel Baron de Belmonte was employed as the Spanish resident in Holland for forty years, from 1664—1704; his services were eminently successful in keeping up a good understanding and firm alliance between these two powers against the ambition of France. His nephew, the Baron de Ximenes Belmonte, succeeded him in the same office, which, however, ceased to exist when the Bourbons were firmly established on the throne of Spain.

History mentions another member of the family who, in the same period, 1678—1702,

was employed as envoy by the Prince of Orange, then King of England, to the Court of Spain, and also as plenipotentiary of the States-General at the same court and that of Portugal. Monsieur de Schoonenburg, another member of the Belmonte family, did not gain less distinction during his long career, by the penetration, fidelity, and zeal which he displayed, both for the interests of his own master and the house of Austria, which he served with all the power and influence he possessed in Spain, during the debate attending the succession of King Charles II. in that country.* The Austrian claimant, afterwards Emperor of Germany by the name of Charles VI., acknowledged his services by presenting him with a marquisate in the German Netherlands.

Among all the sovereigns of Europe and princes of Orange, it was especially during the lifetime of William III., the Stadholder and King of Great Britain, and by his influence, that Israelites by religion as well as birth were employed and even preferred to fill con-

* See the Memoirs of Lamberti, "Spain under Charles the Second; or, Extracts from the Correspondence of the Hon. Alexander Stanhope, 1690—1699." (London, 1840), pp. 32—112, 154.

fidential posts in matters of diplomacy. Nor was it to this prince alone, among those of the house of Nassau, that the Jews of Spain and Portugal testified their unalterable attachment. Both the German and Portuguese synagogues at all times shared the same feelings of unshaken fidelity to the members of that illustrious dynasty. The noble families especially, both at Amsterdam and the Hague, have given proof of their devotedness in time of adversity as well as prosperity. On their side, the stadholders of the house of Nassau, from Frederic Henry downwards, have continued to give marks of their esteem for and interest in these families, both in public and in private. Till the reign of William V. inclusive, no stadholder of Holland had ever failed to pay at least one visit of ceremony to each of the great synagogues of Amsterdam. The stadholder Frederic Henry came, accompanied by his son, William II., the Queen of England, and the princess, her daughter, betrothed to the young prince. On this occasion, the college of Parnassim offered to the stadholder a present of wrought silver, of the value of two thousand florins, which was graciously accepted. The Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel complimented the illustrious visitors in an

elegant Spanish oration, in which he compared the house of Nassau to the ancient Maccabees of Israel.

The eighteenth century was for Europe in general, as it was for the Sephardim in particular, a period of degeneracy in many respects. The zeal and activity which the Portuguese Jews had formerly evinced, in so many various departments, was superseded in many by the indolence which accompanies an excess of luxury, the produce in part of their great prosperity and complete security. Gaming usurped for a time the place of that commerce with the East, South, and West, which their fathers had carried on so successfully, both for their own benefit and that of the country in which they lived. Their manners were changed, and became more corrupt. Religion, though its outward ceremonies were rigidly practised, no longer possessed that inward hold which had often led men to brave the flames of the Inquisition, and to abandon rank, possessions, and country, to serve (according to their conscience, though in error) the God of Israel, and avoid bowing down before an image. Even the glory of their ancient reminiscences degenerated into an object of vanity and party spirit, in which the origin

itself of these boasted distinctions was forgotten, while the aristocracy of money exercised the greatest influence. On the other hand, a frequent and increasing intimacy with the language, literature, and philosophy, as well as with French vanity and manners, exercised a most pernicious influence over that portion of the Jews in Holland, who at that time were naturally more exposed than their brethren of the German synagogue to the seductions and the danger of an entirely worldly civilization. The few literary works which the Sephardim in the Low Countries produced during that time of decay, were almost exclusively written in the French spirit and style, as well as in the language, then becoming more and more general, of the same seductive nation.

A well-known member of the Portuguese synagogue at Amsterdam in particular, had made successful use of this language in the latter part of the preceding century. Isaac de Pinto was author of the "Remarques Critiques," upon an article concerning the Jews, in Voltaire's famous "Philosophical Dictionary." In these remarks, though they are well written and not wanting in spirit, the author seems to have allowed prudence to get the better, when treating the enemies of Christianity and of the

Jewish nation with such excessive politeness that the point of his arguments is completely blunted. The Materialists also found in De Pinto a skilful adversary; though, in defending the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, he assumed too much the position of a Deist. He has written, besides, some treatises on political economy, which are well thought of, especially one upon luxury. On the whole, this Israelite, distinguished both by his talents and position in society, has rendered eminent service to his nation, both in Holland and in France. He also served the country in which he lived in time of need. For instance, during the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, he, with some others, came to the relief of the exhausted treasury, and furnished capital at very low interest from his own funds, and those of his rich coreligionists. This generosity obtained for him a letter from Van Hogendorp, the Receiver-General, in which he is congratulated on having saved the State.

Very different were the services rendered by the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the colonies, and especially the West Indies. In the East Indies they were never numerous, at least in the Dutch possessions. We only find the fact noticed, that, in 1686, some Portuguese

Jews from Amsterdam visited their Israelitish brethren at Cochin, where, since the establishment of the Dutch, their position had been much ameliorated. Moses Pereira de Paiva, a famous traveller, published some details concerning these Eastern Jews in 1687.

The Jews from the Peninsula, established themselves in America, almost immediately after the discovery of the New World. We find them directly after the exile of 1497, bearing in Brazil the name of New Christians, without being pursued by the Inquisition, but sent there by the Government as a kind of banishment. The number of Jews in that country was soon considerably increased by arrivals of their brethren from France; and they began to acquire a greater degree of influence than the Catholic Government of Portugal could tolerate, when the conquest of the country by the arms of Holland brought about a complete change of position, entirely in favour of the Jewish population. From that moment, considerable bodies of Jews sailed for Brazil from the ports of Holland, accompanied by two Rabbins, Aboab and De Aquilar, to found a Jewish colony. They soon attained considerable prosperity and influence by the cultivation of land, manufactures, and an active trade

carried on with their brethren in Holland. The Dutch Government, and especially the Governor, Count John Maurice de Nassau, was not backward in appreciating the services of the Jews, and encouraging them by the entire toleration of their religion, and by every mark of distinction and courtesy. In what their services consisted, is plainly told in an ordinance from the States-General, dated in the year 1645, in which "the persons, goods, and rights of the Jews in Brazil were taken under the special protection of the Government, because of the fidelity and courage which that nation had on every occasion displayed towards the said Government." In truth, history bears witness how much the Jews distinguished themselves by their valour, both at the time of the conquest, and in the defence of Brazil by the Dutch against the Spaniards and Portuguese. One of the Pintos was killed at his post while bravely defending one of the fortresses. In the perilous times of 1645 and 1654, great services were also rendered by the Portuguese family of Cohen, who furnished the Dutch, as well as the Jews, with ammunition and provisions. In 1654, the possession of Brazil was lost for ever to the Dutch, and in consequence to the Jews also, as a residence,

with free exercise of their religion, when that country became again a colony of Portugal. The Portuguese Viceroy granted to the numerous Jewish population some further time to arrange their affairs, and thirty vessels, with a safe-conduct, to convey them to Holland.

A considerable portion of these Brazilian Jews established themselves in another part of the New World. The Dutch West India Company, by an Act, dated September 12, 1659, granted to David (Cohen) Nasi, extensive rights and liberties at Cayenne, for himself and his companions. Their number and resources were soon increased by the arrival of several Portuguese families from Leghorn. The progress of the colony was, however, hindered by war; first, with Portugal, and then with France, which, in 1664, took the country from the Dutch and the Jews.

More lasting, and, therefore, more worthy of interest, was the settlement made at Surinam, by the Portuguese Jews from different countries, but especially from Holland. Lord Willoughby, who obtained from Charles II., in 1662, a charter for the colonization of that country, endeavoured by favours and considerable privileges to attract thither the Israelites and their commerce. Many industrious and

even distinguished Portuguese Jews, who had retired from Cayenne, came to Surinam, where, in three years' time, the banks of the river were adorned with forty or fifty plantations, and a population of about four thousand.

The privileges granted by the first English possessors placed the Hebrew nation (as they are designated in the general privilege, signed by the Secretary, Parry, in 1665) on a footing of entire equality with the English; while, at the same time, the most ample liberty was secured to them in matters of religion,* Sabbaths, feast-days, marriages, and wills.

The privileges secured to the Jews by the Dutch West India Company, and especially by Lord Willoughby, formed the basis of that social position and prosperity which they have at all times enjoyed in the colony of Surinam.

During the war with England (1665-67) the Dutch made themselves masters of this colony, which at the peace of Breda was secured to that Republic, to the great dissatisfaction of Willoughby, who immediately ordered all English subjects to leave the country. A considerable number of Portu-

* See "Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam," 1788. By Lindo. Second Part. Pp. 123—125, 381—383.

guese families left at the same time, and went with the English to form a colony at Jamaica, where (as well as in the French colony of the Martinico) the cultivation of the sugar-cane was very greatly improved, owing to the settlement of these Jews.

Meanwhile, the Dutch Government still found faithful and industrious subjects among the Jews of the Savanna, in Surinam. Great service was rendered by various members of the families of Pinto da Fonseca, Arias, Naär, De Brito, D'Avilar, both in the vigorous defence of the colony in 1689, against the French squadron, under Admiral Cassard, and in the wars which were carried on both in that century and the succeeding one against the Indians and Negroes ; another, David Nasi, met with death in his thirty-first campaign against the latter, in the year 1743, at the age of seventy. Another member of the same family had much distinguished himself in the war with France, and by this means so much excited the jealousy of the Governor, that, for the sake of his brethren, he thought it best to leave the colony, and retire to Amsterdam, where, together with the Baron de Belmonte, he ceased not to take the part of the Jews at Surinam in their disputes with the Govern-

ment of that colony. These disputes, a natural consequence of the close contact in which the Jews lived with the Christian colonists, in no way lessened the acknowledged and unshaken fidelity of the Jews to the Government of the mother country, and to the House of Orange. They, however, tended to diminish the prosperity of the synagogue at Surinam, especially when internal dissensions arose among the Jewish people themselves. In our days the very failing condition of the colony in general has certainly not had a more favourable effect upon the prosperity of the Jews. Some time after the establishment of the Portuguese synagogue at Surinam, the German Jews also settled there, and, before long, especially since the close of the eighteenth century, they have risen to be on a par with their brethren in civilization and esteem.

At Curaçoa, originally a Spanish colony, but, after many vicissitudes, possessed by the Dutch, the Portuguese Jews were early established. They had not, however, built a synagogue before the eighteenth century, and then one was speedily followed by a second. Now, the Portuguese Jewish population, formerly flourishing and numerous, is reduced to less than a thousand souls.

At New York a Portuguese synagogue still exists, apparently built at the time when that city was still within the Dutch territories. At Philadelphia, and some other towns of the United States, Portuguese synagogues have continued to exist to the present time.

When Oliver Cromwell governed Great Britain, three centuries and a-half had elapsed since the time when the Jews were banished from England by Edward I. The period seemed then arrived for the country to open its ports to a nation which had already been received on the Continent, both by Roman Catholic and Protestant powers.

Cromwell, who on religious motives was well inclined to re-admit the Jews, also well knew and understood as a statesman the advantages that might be gained in a political point of view from the extensive connexions of the Spanish Jews. The time was, therefore, as happily chosen as the man, when, as we have already told, the Jews sent Menasseh Ben Israel to England, to request permission for the Israelitish nation to reside and enjoy the free exercise of their religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The request was made in two remarkable addresses to the Lord Protector and to the Republic, in which, among

other subjects, the writer expresses his full expectation of a speedy return of the Jewish people to the land of their fathers. The Protector called together an assembly of clergy, lawyers, and merchants at Whitehall, to ask their opinion upon the matter. He declared himself in this assembly openly and warmly in favour of the re-admission of the Jews, because of the great promises in Holy Scripture attached to their conversion, and the honour and interest it would bring to the Christian Church. An eye-witness of the meeting declares that he never heard any one so eloquent as the Protector when pleading the cause of the Jews. Yet it was entirely in vain ; the majority, especially of the clergy and merchants, declared themselves opposed to the re-admission of the Jews. Thus the question was deferred, and the Jews meanwhile tolerated by a kind of connivance, in virtue of a special permission from the Protector, but not as English subjects, or as forming an Israelitish synagogue. It appears, however, that nearly at the same period a piece of land was granted to them as a burial-ground, on a nominal lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years. Leave to build a synagogue in London, and, consequently, free permission to reside and prac-

tise their religion, was at last granted to them in the reign of Charles II., 1666. Perhaps there may be some connecting-link between this event and the remarkable circumstance that the negotiations for the King's marriage to the Infanta, Catherine of Portugal, were carried on by General Monk through the intervention of a Portuguese Jew.

It is an ascertained fact, that the Infanta was accompanied to England by two Portuguese brothers, one of whom, Dr. Antonio Mendez, had been Professor of Medicine at Coimbra, and at the request of the Infanta established himself in London, where, from that time, both his brother and himself openly professed the religion of Moses. Their descendants have since borne the name of Mendez da Costa.* Since that time the Portuguese synagogue in London has been greatly increased by the number of distinguished families who have migrated thither even from Spain and Portugal, but especially from the Netherlands. These families have lived and prospered in London, particularly since the reign of King William, on the same footing as those at Amsterdam and the Hague,

* Lindo's "History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal," p. 350.

with whom they were often connected by relationship.

Here, as in Holland, they have also given proof of their faithful attachment to the Government and the Crown, which they have been ever ready to aid with their persons or their fortunes. The principal families belonging to this synagogue are those of Ximenes, Cardoso, Lopez, Bernal, Gomez Sera, De Chaves, Fernandes Nunes, De Almeida, and Bravo. The well-known Member of Parliament and political economist, David Ricardo, belonged by birth to the Portuguese synagogue; his father, who was the younger son of a Spanish family at Amsterdam, having formerly settled in England.

Among the learned men and authors recorded in the annals of the English Sephardim we may mention Rabbi Abendana, translator of the "Khusari of Hallevi;" as well as Rabbi David Nieto, born at Venice, and made Chief Rabbi in London in the year 1701. He wrote several works on theology in Portuguese, and in Italian a "Pascologia," in which he endeavours to reconcile the differences between the Jewish calendar and that of the Greek and Latin Church regarding the feast of Easter. He wrote, besides, some rather severe strictures

upon the proceedings of the Inquisition as late as the time of John IV. of Portugal. To the English synagogue also belonged Rabbi Jacob (Henriques) de Castro Sarmiento, born at Braganza, in 1691, who established himself in London in 1721, where his great acquirements in natural science caused him to be chosen a member of the Royal Society, and presented with the degree of Doctor by the University of Aberdeen. An interesting specimen of Jewish literature in England appears in a poetical version of the Psalms, made in 1720, by Daniel Israel Lyra Laguna, with the title of "A faithful Mirror of Life." This work is also worthy of notice on account of the different specimens of Spanish, Latin, and even English poetry in praise of its author, with which his friends accompanied the publication.

After 1713, Great Britain had Spanish-Jewish subjects on a soil which had originally been Spanish. By the treaty of Utrecht, Gibraltar remained annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, by whom, conjointly with the Dutch, this celebrated fortress had been overcome. The Crown of England had, however, made an agreement with his Catholic Majesty, that neither Jew nor Moor should be tolerated in the city. Before long, the English Govern-

ment obtained from the Spanish monarch permission to admit Moorish ships into the port, and in time Jewish settlers were also allowed. They soon established themselves, and multiplied to such a degree, that at the present time there exists a Jewish population of about 1,600 souls, with four synagogues. The connexion which subsists between the acknowledged and the concealed Israelites who are to be met with to this day in Spain, is a secret to no one. Among others, the former well-known Spanish minister, Mendizabel, was the son of a Jewish resident at Gibraltar.

With regard to Spain itself at the present time, though Jews may travel, and even remain in the country without danger, yet there exists no law to secure to them their religious liberty in the ancient abode of their fathers. In Portugal, on the contrary, since 1820, they have possessed a public synagogue in the capital, an example which has also been followed by the Government of Brazil, while in the emancipated states of America, which were originally Spanish, the Jews in our time no longer encounter persecution.

We have given in this book, as in a separate picture, a review of the history of the Sephardim, as distinct from the rest of their

brethren in the midst of that universal dispersion of the Jewish people which followed the destruction of Jerusalem. The concluding portion of our sketch will refer exclusively to the other division of the dispersed nation, or will view both taken together as a whole. What is chiefly to be observed in the present day with respect to the Jewish nation is, the decline of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, and the remarkable social development of another different portion of the same extraordinary nation. It is as if the two had divided between them the past and the present. If the past presents to the *former* more glorious reminiscences, the present appears to belong more especially to the *latter*. But of what importance is it? The future acknowledges no such distinction! The future, according to the promise of God in Christ Jesus their Saviour and their King, belongs equally to both: it is given to the "nation of the twelve tribes" undivided.

BOOK IV.

THE JEWS AND THE REFORMATION.

HAVING now brought to a close a review of the history of the Sephardim, we must, for a short time, retrace our steps. From the period of the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, we will resume that thread of events which we have lately followed through a less thorny path, amid the sad wilderness of Israel's history since the rejection of his Messiah, and the fall of his temple and city. What we propose to ourselves in this last portion of our work is, to exhibit the principal features of the destiny, and the most striking situations in which the exiled nation have been placed, from the time of the Reformation until the commencement of the revolutionary period at the close of the eighteenth century; and again from that epoch to the middle of the present century. We will then conclude the past and present history of Israel, with casting a glance upon their future prospects, especially considered,

as heretofore, in its connexion with, and relation to, the Gentiles.

From the very beginning of their history—from the very rise of that nation sprung from the seed of Abraham and Jacob, this people have ever had quite a peculiar share in all the great events which have from time to time changed the face of the world. In these events they have had their influence, their co-operation, and, as regards their temporal existence at least, they have ever been more or less directly interested in the movements which have agitated the nations. In more than one respect was the reciprocal influence of the dispersed yet ever-preserved people of Israel intimately felt in connexion with the reformation of part of the Christian Church, just when the period of the Middle Ages was superseded by a new order of things in the destinies of Europe and of the world.

The dawning of the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, was brought about under God's guiding providence over the Church, the world, and mankind, by an increase and shedding abroad of light in every branch of knowledge and human science, more especially in literature and languages; above all, the two idioms, in one of which all the writings

of the New Testament, and in the other, those of the Old, had been committed to the Church of all ages. The revival of the study of Hebrew led, as a natural consequence, to the renewed study of Moses and the prophets in the original, and which, during the last thousand years, had become almost unknown to the Christian Church, having been preserved exclusively in the schools and writings of the Jews. In the Roman Catholic world Latin had become, "*par excellence*," or, rather, exclusively the holy tongue, the Vulgate having superseded and cast into oblivion the original Hebrew and Greek. The time had long since passed by when a Jerome received instruction from an Israelite in learning the language of Canaan, that he might make translations for the benefit of the Church. But the ten centuries of the Middle Ages had not yet quite elapsed before the knowledge of the Hebrew language began to reappear in the labours of Nicholas de Lyra, in the fourteenth century, preparing, as it were, a way for the Reformers.

In Spain, where, during the same period, the Jews alone had spread the light of their Hebrew and rabbinical learning, we have seen Paul of Burgos completing and purifying the Postills of De Lyra. In that country, also, a

short time before the appearance of Luther, the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes committed the Hebrew text of his Polyglot Bible to the charge of three learned men of Jewish descent. Soon after,—thanks to the good services of the Jewish press, their whole stores of grammar and rabbinical exegesis were at the disposition of the theologians of the Christian Church, to extract and gather thence all that might be made of service for the literal interpretation of Holy Scripture. Even before the trumpet sounded from Wittenberg over the world, in Germany as well as in Italy the Talmudic and Cabballistic writings of the Jews were already known. The celebrated Prince John Pico di Mirandola, towards the close of the fifteenth century, was so deeply devoted to, and so much prepossessed in favour of, the latter works, that he looked upon them as the source of all kinds of wisdom, and laboured to prove by their means the truths of the Gospel. A similar prepossession had spread even in Italy, where, during all the former half of the sixteenth century, many converted Jews had contributed to make known the writings of their former coreligionists by refuting them. The same quarter of a century in which Luther's testimony held the most conspicuous

place, beheld a dispute kindled in the midst of the Popedom concerning the utility or the danger of tolerating and propagating, by means of the press, rabbinical works, especially the Talmud. A violent discussion on this question, which was carried on for years, had been first started by John Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew of Cologne. All the efforts of this man, who, with many faults, was certainly not wanting in merit, were early directed to the conversion of his brethren according to the flesh. The means he first made use of were highly laudable ; for he treated them with gentleness, and even defended his former co-religionists against the calumny of their enemies.

His zeal afterwards was less well advised, when he began to forbid and condemn the reading of any Hebrew book except the Old Testament. With the aid of the Dominican monks, he prevailed on the Emperor Maximilian to adopt his views, and in 1509 an edict was published, which enjoined that all writings emanating from the Jews against the Christian religion should be suppressed and condemned to the flames ; this edict was soon succeeded by another, in 1510, enjoining the destruction of every Hebrew book, with the sole exception of

the Old Testament. The execution of this edict was, however, suspended until the opinion of the Electoral Archbishop of Mayence had been obtained. By favour of this delay, Professor Reuchlin (Capnio) was enabled to publish a voluminous treatise, in which he divided the Jewish works into seven different classes, and afterwards proved which of these classes might be considered dangerous or injurious to the Christian religion. Among the books which he thinks in part harmless, and in part useful, and even valuable to theology, and which he would in consequence preserve, were not only the commentators, but the Talmud and the Zohar. The contest soon grew warm between the adversaries of the books and their defenders; the former consisting of the Dominicans and their partisans, the latter of all moderate and enlightened theologians. Under the Pontificate of Leo X., the well-known friend and protector of science and literature, a book of Reuchlin's, which had been condemned to the flames by the adverse party at Cologne, in 1514, was shortly absolved from all imputation of heresy. Soon, however, (by favour, apparently, of the movement which had taken place in the Church since 1517,) an end was put to the whole dispute, when the famous

knight, Franz von Sickingen, had declared himself on this question also, the decided antagonist of the Inquisitorial party.

Thus, in the very bosom of the Romish Church, the cause of those who defended the Talmud for learning's sake had triumphed; while, in the Protestant Churches, the study of Hebrew progressed from the beginning, by the help of Jewish teachers and writings. The two Buxtorfs, father and son, are at the head of a long series of learned men of evangelical sentiments and of the reformed religion, who derived their knowledge of oriental languages, and of the original text of the Old Testament, not from printed books or rabbinical manuscripts only, but from the oral teaching of Jewish masters. Even in our day, after the important discoveries which have been made, and the new direction which the study of Hebrew has taken during the last century, learned men recognise the services which the rabbinical and Talmudic writings not only have rendered, but may still render to science.

A remarkable memorial of the intimate access thus obtained to the fountain-head (no longer through the intervention of the Popedom and its Vulgate, but by means of the ancient synagogue,) has remained to us in the decisive re-

jection of the Apocryphal Books from that canon of Scripture which is received by the Reformed Church as of Divine Inspiration. The influence of the rabbinical writings was not of sufficient weight to counterbalance the ancient, and so-called, spiritual interpretation of the Jewish prophecies, which had been received from time immemorial by the Church of Rome and the great majority of the fathers. It was not till long after that a time came for believers among the nations to acknowledge, that an interpretation which admits of a real and literal accomplishment of all foretold judgments and miseries upon Israel, and bestows every promise of blessing, by means of an exegetico-allegorical operation, exclusively upon Gentile Christians, cannot escape at least the reproach of partiality; while it is in direct opposition to the principle on which our Lord himself and his apostles have applied or explained the ancient prophecies of Israel.

On the whole, indeed, the Reformation, whether in its early days or in later times, with all its great teachers and numerous adherents, effected little or no change in the disposition of Christians towards the once chosen people, now so sadly decayed and scattered over the earth, because of their

heinous sin. Luther appeared well disposed towards them in the beginning of his career as a reformer. In a treatise especially, which he wrote in consequence of some accusations of heresy concerning the virginity of Mary, "to prove that Jesus Christ was of Israelitish birth"—he spoke of the Jews in a manner which seemed likely to overthrow popular prejudices against the nation itself, and cause men to set some value on the imperishable privileges of their descent. Afterwards he spoke very differently of the Jews, either from indignation at some theologians of Wittenberg, whom he looked upon as infected with the leaven of rabbiniism, or from disappointment because the Reformation, by which he had promised himself a favourable influence over the minds of the Jews and their conversion to the Gospel, found no more favour or acceptance than Romanism with this entirely singular nation. At least, his tract, published in 1543, on "The Jews and their Lies," shows no moderate degree of bitterness, and his manner of dealing with them was quite in accordance with the tone of that book. We may say, on this point, that the Christian in Luther is lost sight of in the German, always the adversary of the Jew.

The feelings of Calvin were, perhaps, less

vehement, but still far from friendly or considerate towards the Jews, with whom, however, he came little in contact at Geneva. With more of the Roman and the philosopher than of the orientalist or the poet in his composition, this great French Reformer failed in taking so complete a view of prophecy, as to derive from it a knowledge of Israel's future position. Neither their future prospects, nor the descent of the Saviour from the midst of this singular people, ever induced him to forget for a moment their protracted hardness of heart, in spite of the clear, and often-repeated declarations of Scripture, certifying their conversion and national restoration. On the other hand, we cannot deny that the light of the Gospel, which the Reformation had again set on the candlestick, had no more influence over the body of the Jews, than when it was in great part hid under the bushel of Popery,—at all times some few individuals have embraced it “according to the election of grace.”

Among those men who laboured with zeal and fidelity in the cause of the Reformation during the sixteenth century, we may mention, as a rare exception, however, a Jew of Ferrara, named Emanuel Tremellius. Having come into Germany from Italy in company

with Peter Martyr, by whom he had been brought to the knowledge of the Gospel, he there became a zealous labourer in the vineyard of the Reformation, and, together with Franciscus Junius, the celebrated Dutch Reformer, afterwards Professor of Theology at Leyden, made a Latin version of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew. Franciscus Junius (du Jon) himself at all times came forward as the warm friend of the people of Israel, and proved himself to be so most effectually by the wise and affectionate manner in which he set forth the duty owing by Christians to this nation in their present state of decay. In the family of Junius, as well as that of Vossius, with which it was connected, benevolent feelings towards the Jews, and a warm interest in their welfare, seem to have been hereditary. Isaac Vossius, for example, the Professor at Amsterdam, who afterwards settled in England, and died there at a great age, wrote a striking "Address to the Jews" in this spirit.

Generally speaking, the Arminians of Holland and their allies showed most favour to the Jewish refugees in that country and their learned men. We have already spoken of Hugo Grotius, whose esteem for the Rabbins

and their interpretations was certainly carried too far. Rather later, in the course of the seventeenth century, Calvinistic clergy and teachers were not wanting in Holland, who, by their writings and their efforts for the spread of the Gospel among the Jews, showed a far more friendly spirit towards that nation than their predecessors had done. Among these, Hendrik Groenwegen and the Professors Witsius and Hornbeck were distinguished; the former of these was well known in England, both personally and by his writings; the latter was the author of an ample work on the conversion of the Jews. About the same period, in the Netherlands, an expectation began to arise of the future national conversion of Israel, in connexion with a millennium of glory for the Church of Christ upon earth. Among the defenders of this doctrine, we find the celebrated theologian, Willem von Brakel, whose works, containing an ample summary of dogmatic and practical theology, were known throughout Holland, and brought into favour with a great number of the most pious and orthodox members of the Church a mode of interpreting prophecy, which the members of the Synod of Dordrecht had before disowned. Before the close of the

seventeenth century, however, many men whose names are well known in Great Britain especially, had arrived at conclusions almost identical with those which have been brought forward during the last thirty or forty years, concerning the future prosperity of Israel, and the universal reign of Jesus Christ their King. Among these, it may suffice to mention Jurieu, the celebrated opponent of Bayle, who had sought refuge in Holland subsequently to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and especially John de Labadie, whose book entitled, the "Herald of the King Jesus," together with his secession from the national Church, brought upon him great enmity from those ministers and professors who were considered orthodox. Thus, the Reformation, by the guidance of the Lord of the Church, had beheld fresh light thrown on the Old Testament, and the word of prophecy in particular, not shining at once fully, but rising gradually and increasing by degrees. In the position of the Jews themselves, a remarkable change was at the same time in progress. Not that the hatred and prejudices of Christian people, or rather of the world in general, had given place to more benevolent and generous sentiments, or that any mutual drawing together had taken place

between Jew and Christian. Only the fury of persecution had slackened and gradually disappeared, together with that ferocity which peculiarly characterized the Middle Ages. The Jews were no longer massacred, tortured, pillaged, or arbitrarily expelled, as in the time of the Crusades, at least such events were of very rare occurrence. In Spain, it is true, and in her colonies, the sword of Damocles was suspended over the head of the hidden adherents of the synagogue and their descendants, —but we have already noticed that the zeal, or, at least, the power of the Inquisition, had by degrees slackened. In other parts of Europe, after the great separation effected by the Reformation, the fury of persecution directed against heretics in the bosom of Christianity itself, was by this means turned aside from the unbelieving Israelite. Yet, the anathema of public contempt, humiliation, and exclusion from every public or private connexion, still lay heavily upon them. Thus, the period of 270 years, which intervened between the Reformation and the Revolution, brought no amelioration in the civil and political rights of the Jews. The history of the people of Israel in the world continued during the whole of that period to exhibit the same monotonous

character of misery, which, with the exception of some few years, or a few favoured spots, had marked their fate for many centuries. This period, which we will now survey rapidly, offers few peculiarities sufficiently striking to require a place in this sketch. Many of them have been detailed in the two preceding books, by a kind of anticipation which the connexion of the subjects and facts we have had to relate rendered necessary. There are but a few of the more prominent details, relating either to the sufferings of the exiled people in their social position, or their labours in the field of literature or science, left to us. For, with the commencement of the revolutionary period in 1789, a fresh horizon is discovered, as much for the whole known and civilized world in general, as for the scattered remnant of Israel and Judah.

The position of the Jews in the East under the Turkish Empire, as we have already remarked, was generally favourable, and at times prosperous, especially that of the Spanish Jews. After what we have already told concerning that part of the Jewish history, there remains but little to relate. One man alone arose amid the Jewish population in the East, whose name has acquired a painful celebrity

in consequence of the singular fact that his teaching and the sect he founded long continued to exist after the loss of his life and reputation. Though unmasked as a false Messiah, he long possessed great influence over posterity as the most remarkable man of his age. The number of impostors who have arisen during the nineteen centuries of Israel's dispersion are reckoned at sixty-four. Among them, perhaps no one was more deserving of contempt than Sabbathai Sevi, of Smyrna, yet none excited more remark by the great sensation which his appearance continued for some years to create, by the surprising effects of this illusion during his lifetime, and even after his death; by the ideas especially, long entirely unheard of among the Jews, concerning the nature and office of Messiah, to which the appearance of this man gave rise among that nation and their scribes in different parts of the world.

Sabbathai Sevi, the youngest son of a poult-
terer, at Smyrna, was born in that city in the
year 1625. In his childhood he won the
admiration of the synagogue, by his great
cleverness, and the zeal with which he pursued
his studies. At fifteen years of age he no
longer needed instruction in the study of the

Talmud. In his eighteenth year he commenced his career of Rabbi, with the title of Chacham. A multitude of disciples crowded to hear his instructions in the Cabbala; a study which may always be looked upon as the link between Jewish theology, philosophy, and even Christianity. With his public teaching he united in private the severest practices of bodily asceticism, after the Jewish custom of constant fasting and bathing. At twenty years of age he married, but in form only, continuing to lead a single life; this soon gave occasion to a divorce, which led to another similar marriage. His life became more and more that of a penitent; fasts six times in the week, midnight immersions in the sea, and every means of macerating the body in use among the Jews were employed by him. His personal beauty (it is said) only continued to increase, and his presence imparted a perfume to the surrounding atmosphere. When questioned on these different points, he related in confidence that the patriarchs had appeared to him by night. In his twenty-fourth year (A.D. 1648) he declared himself publicly, "Messiah of the house of David," who should soon deliver Israel from the dominion of Christians and Mussulmans.

As a token of this high dignity, he ventured to pronounce the name of Jehovah, which we know to be considered by the Jews as the crime of treason against the Most High. When questioned and censured on this account by the Rabbins, he replied that this power belonged to him as the Messiah. Soon after, having been condemned and outlawed by the synagogue, he fled to Salonichi. There, being received with great honour, he continued to teach in public and make disciples. A further decree of the Rabbins soon followed, which compelled him to flee to Athens, and then to take refuge successively in the Morea, at Alexandria, Cairo, and Jerusalem, in which city he contrived, without much difficulty, to take up his abode. At that time a certain Nathan Benjamin, from whom he had received hospitality during a stay at Gaza, ranged himself on his side, declaring himself to be the prophet and forerunner of Sabbathai. He was not long in collecting by his fanaticism a numerous party. He wrote addresses to all the Rabbins in the Holy Land, announcing the approach of Messiah's kingdom, and decreeing, in consequence, the abrogation of the Fasts of Thammuz * and of the ninth of Ab,

* Zech. viii. 19.

because the speedy restoration of Jerusalem would render needless all sorrow on account of her misfortunes and her downfall. The Messiah (wrote he) "is at hand, and ere long will assume the turban and crown of the Sultan, as the Cabbala has declared. Then, for some time he will disappear, to seek, in company with Moses, the ten tribes hidden beyond the river Sabbath, and to bring them back. Then, riding on a lion, descended from heaven, whose tongue is like a seven-headed serpent, he will enter Jerusalem in triumph, after having destroyed a multitude of his enemies by the breath of his mouth. Then will take place the descent of the Jerusalem from on high, adorned with gold and precious stones, in which Messiah himself will offer sacrifices; then shall happen the resurrection of the dead, with many other events which cannot now be revealed."

Sabbathai, in the meanwhile, continued quietly teaching the Cabbala at Jerusalem, until, in the fourteenth year of his residence in that city, he suddenly declared that he had a call from heaven to go into Egypt and take a wife. He soon returned with his bride, the daughter of a Polish Rabbi, who had been brought up among Christians. This third

marriage, like the two preceding, was a mere matter of form. A short time after (1665) he undertook to assemble the Jews in the neighbourhood, and dedicate his reign by some public act; but when the Rabbins at Jerusalem also had pronounced him to be worthy of death, and this sentence had been confirmed by an assembly at Constantinople, he took flight, and returned to Smyrna. There all seemed at first to be in his favour; he was received by his coreligionists with royal honours, escorted by hundreds of the Jews whenever he appeared in public, which he did every evening until midnight, amid songs of rejoicing, and with banners displayed. Stirred up by the false Elias (Rabbi Nathan, a caricature of John the Baptist), the numbers gradually increased of those who came from all parts to visit him, and applaud his discourses, which were delivered in public—according to some, in Spanish. In all the magnificence of Eastern costume, and surrounded with kingly state, he gave audience to these successive visitors, while in the synagogues blessings were invoked on his name, together with that of the Sultan in the prayers for the reigning powers. Many strange circumstances followed. The Cabballistic book of Zohar became the

order of the day; young men and young women, in a kind of ecstasy, prophesied with every kind of bodily contortion and convulsion. Even to the far-west the fame of and belief in the pretended Messiah spread from day to day. In Holland a schism was on the point of breaking out in the midst of the Portuguese synagogue. A manuscript chronicle of that epoch, belonging to the community, states, that a letter had been addressed from them to Sabbathai Sevi, full of the highest and most decided expectations, applying to him names and titles which could be addressed to the Most High alone.

It is a striking feature in the whole history of the false Messiah of Smyrna, that we find much either of reminiscence or imitation, at all events of correspondence with the Gospel, with respect to the prophecies and attributes of Messiah and his kingdom, mingled with the ridiculous absurdities by which this miserable deception was surrounded and supported. Thus, without knowing or even suspecting it, the Jews themselves fulfilled in part the prophecy spoken by their true King and Redeemer (John v. 43): "I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not; if another come in his own name, him will ye receive."

Already, in the year 1666, the affairs of the false Messiah were beginning to take a different turn, when his arrival and vociferous welcome from the Jews at Constantinople excited some uneasiness in the Divan. The Grand Vizir, by authority of the Sultan, Mahomet IV., caused the impostor to be arrested ; even then he succeeded in being treated as a prisoner of state. He obtained permission to receive visits, and kept up all the dignity of an eastern prince, while he continued, at the same time, in the unceasing practice of the law as a severe Talmudist and Cabballist. At the same time, he declared that the day of deliverance was at hand, and fixed as its furthest period the following summer ; by this means he greatly sustained the courage of his followers, who, attributing the imprisonment of their Messiah to their own sins, did penance ; while he, on the contrary, gave orders on all sides to change the fast-days into days of feasting. While matters were in this state, a learned Cabballist, named Rabbi Nehemiah, arrived from Poland. An intercourse of three days with the pretended Messiah enabled this Rabbi to see through and completely detect the absurd pretences of Sabbathai. From that time he openly protested against them, and sought to

turn away the people from the deceiver. He succeeded, also (but in a less praiseworthy manner,) in obtaining an audience with the Sultan, to represent the dangers accruing to his government from such fanaticism among the Jews. The Sultan in consequence commanded Sabbathai to present himself at Adrianople. He went there, accompanied by a considerable number of his followers; but when brought into presence of the Sultan, he was disconcerted, lost countenance, and declared himself willing to embrace Mahometanism to save his life.

This incident, which seemed fitted to destroy the cause of the false Messiah, neither deprived the fanatical impostor of his impudence, nor his blind partisans of their reliance upon him. He declared that this conversion to Islamism formed one of the marked characteristics of the expected Messiah. Many of his followers and admirers repeated this subterfuge; others, after the manner of the Docetæ among Christians and the Mahomedans, pretended that Sabbathai himself had been taken up to heaven, and that it was only a likeness or image of his person which had been seen to change religion. The false prophet Nathan, especially in Damascus,

Aleppo, and Smyrna, continued to support the cause of the impostor against the condemnation and contradictions of the Rabbins of Constantinople. The eyes of many were nevertheless at length opened, and soon he lost all his influence and the greater number of his adherents. He ventured to reappear in the synagogue to introduce his liturgy, under pretext to the Sultan that he sought thus to win the Jews to his new religion. But the Vizir was not deceived ; he arrested him again, and banished him to Bosnia. In 1677, ten years after he had embraced Mahometanism, he died at Belgrade, some say of a natural death,—others, that he was secretly beheaded in prison.

Such was the end of this fanatic, the Bar Chochab, or Mahomet, as it were, of his day, but without a single spark of the courage or character displayed by them ; while even his most determined enemies could not deny that he possessed superior talents. The sensation caused by his appearance and doctrines (as we have already said) continued to be felt long after his death. His system of cabbalistic teaching was introduced in different forms into the synagogues of Turkey, Asia Minor, and the states of Barbary, and afterwards into

those of Europe also. Under the denomination of "Sabbathaism," a more or less mysterious doctrine has been perpetuated in a sect, headed successively by different chiefs, and variously named at different times. We hear of this sect especially full a century after the death of Sabbathai, in Germany, and particularly in Austria and Poland, under the command or the influence of a certain Jacob Frank, who endeavoured to unite cabbalistic Judaism with Christianity, in the same manner as Sabbathai and his followers had attempted to mingle it with Mahometanism.

What the Mahomedan territories, the states of Barbary and Turkey in particular, were able to offer to the banished Israelites in the East, they found also in the West, in the Roman Catholic territory of Italy.

The Spanish and Portuguese Jews not only brought with them, but found the synagogues of those countries already possessed of a large proportion of learning, and many social privileges. The dispersion of the Sephardim and their establishment in the country, the consequent increase in the number and activity of the Italian presses, produced effects not only on that body of the Jewish people, but also on the older Italian Jews, and even the German

part of the Jewish population which was mingled with it, especially towards the north. No country, no period, since the bright days of Judeo-Spanish learning in the Middle Ages, had been so fertile in men of talents and literature among the Jews as Italy just after the close of the Middle Ages. It seemed as if the days of Aben Ezra and Maimonides were about to be revived; at least, many are the names which the history of modern Jewish literature in Italy has recorded with distinction during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At their head may be placed Elias Levita, surnamed Bachur (from the title of his book on Hebrew Grammar), and Rabbi Abraham Ben Meir de Balmes,—the one born at Lecci, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the other at Aisch, near Nuremburgh, in the latter part of the fifteenth. Both enjoyed the esteem of their Christian contemporaries, and were employed in useful labours. De Balmes practised as a physician at Padua, and gave public lectures, both on medicine and philosophy, in which he had Christians as well as Jews for his auditors. He had been brought up in the Spanish school as a linguist and a man of letters, and he translated many valuable Arabic works into Latin. Elias Levita also taught at

Padua, but the breaking out of the war in 1509 stript him of all his possessions, and compelled him to leave the city; he removed to Rome, where he found favour with the Cardinal Aegidius, and his affairs became more prosperous. In 1527, war again broke in upon his studies, and obliged him to leave Rome, which was taken and pillaged by the Generals of Charles V. He returned to Padua, from whence he was invited into Germany by the celebrated Paul Fagius, and for some time superintended a Hebrew press. The climate, however, so unfavourably affected his health, that, being advanced in years, he decided on returning to Italy, where he died, in 1542. His family long continued at Rome, where they bore the name of Tedesco, and were reckoned among the most honourable in the synagogue, on a par with the Ascarelli, the Pessata, De Rossi, Corcassa, &c.

In the same city of Padua, another German Rabbi rose to distinction some time afterwards. Rabbi Meir Ben Isaac Katzenellenhogen kept up an active correspondence with the synagogues, both of the east and west; while his opinions on matters of theology were sought for, and repeated as far as Poland. He died in 1565. One of his cotemporaries, Rabbi Obadiah Ben

Jacob Seforno, wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Books of Job, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes. He dedicated this last commentary, and also a Latin treatise on metaphysics, to King John II. of France. He was also a great friend of Reuchlin. In the second part of the sixteenth century, Rabbi David Ben Isaac de Pomis, born of a family who traced their residence at Rome to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, distinguished himself as a physician, and also as the author of several grammatical and exegetical works. He dedicated his lexicon to Pope Sixtus V., who highly esteemed him. There, also, lived Rabbi Gedaliah, of the celebrated family of the Yachias, from Portugal, who died in the year 1590, at the age of ninety, having established his character among the learned men of Israel, by more than twenty voluminous works upon the various subjects of exegesis, theology, and philosophy. One of these, his well-known "Chain of Tradition," is a monument, both of the diligence and of the great deficiencies to be observed in the study of history among the modern Jews. At Ferrara, a cotemporary, Rabbi Abraham Farsol, of Avignon, wrote his Cosmography, which is valued for its many interesting observations.

Rabbi Azaria de Rossi (in Hebrew, Adomim), of Mantua, wrote a historico-critical work, called "Meor Enaim," "The Light of the Eyes;" and David Ascoli published in Latin a "Remonstrance against the Decree of Pope Paul IV.," reiterating the ordinance that the Jews should wear a distinctive mark on their raiment, which procured for him some years of imprisonment.

Among the ornaments of the Italian synagogue in the seventeenth century, we may name Rabbi Jehuda Ariel, better known by the name of Leo of Modena, head of the synagogue at Venice, and author of many works both in Italian and Hebrew, on literature, antiquities, and theology; Joseph Conzio, of Asti, a poet, and commentator on the Book of Esther; Deborah Ascarelli, of Rome, a poetess in her native Italian tongue; Rabbi Simon Luzzato, known by his interesting observations on the Jews of his own time, and also the ancestor of many who, like himself, were famed among the Israelites for their writings; Rabbi Moses Cohen Porto distinguished himself in the same line; Rabbi Salomon Ben Isaac di Marino was the author of a valuable commentary on Isaiah; Moses Ben Mordecai Zacuta, of Amsterdam, settled at Venice in

1649, and is known both as a cabbalistic theologian, and a mystical poet; Sabbathai Mamia, who attempted a translation of the Metamorphoses of Ovid, with many others. Among the various studies of the Jews at that period, we must not omit that of music. Mention is made in the year 1623, of a "Partitum," published by Rabbi Salomon Mehachachamim, of Venice, upon the text of one of the Psalms of Solomon. Already, however, towards the close of the seventeenth century, the lustre of Jewish literature in Italy was beginning to fade, only to revive in a later period, with a brightness which we shall have, by and by, to remark upon.

During the two centuries and a-half which are now before us, taking into consideration the spirit of the age, and the great variety of countries, sovereigns, and times,—the Jews, in their social and political position, met with more of favour than oppression. With very few exceptions, we find, in the Papal States at least, no traces of persecution or violence proceeding from the Government; while, in the maritime and trading cities of Italy, the liberty, privileges, and wealth of the Jews, (the latter, unfortunately, not always honourably acquired,) were, in general, considerable, and often eminent.

More than once we find them employed with honour and success in diplomatic missions, not by the Republic of Venice alone, but by the Duke of Ferrara, and even the Emperor of Germany. Over the whole of Italy the Jewish synagogues were in a flourishing condition; more than a hundred were in existence at the beginning of the seventeenth century. When, in course of time, they had afterwards diminished both in number and splendour, Rome itself, about the middle of the eighteenth century, still contained no less than nine, the Rabbins of which exercised a degree of influence throughout the whole of Italy. The Jewish population of the city at that time amounted to thirteen or fourteen thousand souls.

We must take a few minutes longer to notice the position of the Jews in the States of the Church, and particularly in connexion with the Popes. This connexion, though in general a friendly one on the part of the sovereigns of Rome, was yet exposed to continual variations, in consequence of the very frequent change of the temporal and spiritual head of the Government. These variations we have already observed in the history of the Middle Ages; and the same occurred even in more enlightened days, after the commencement of

the sixteenth century. Thus, for example, Paul III. (1534—1549) showed them peculiar favour,—so much so, that he was reproved by Cardinal Sadoletus. This Pope, an enemy to persecution, sought to gain the Jews to the Church by forming an establishment for the conversion of that nation. Paul IV. (1555—1559), on the contrary, severe towards the Christians, even to Philip II. of Spain, treated the Jews with especial harshness, forbidding them to have Christian servants, limiting them to one synagogue in each city, and imposing anew the old vexations of the ghetto, and the peculiar mark. Pius IV., his immediate successor, in his turn lightened their burdens, and showed them every kindness. Pius V., on the contrary, loaded them with reproaches and harsh speeches, driving them from his territories, with the exception of Rome and Ancona. The reason for this exception must be looked for apparently in the evils which had before accrued to Ancona on a similar occasion, when either open or concealed persecution had compelled the Jews to transport elsewhere the seat of their fortunes, when by the active co-operation of the Turkish Rabbins a large proportion of its commerce had been removed to Pessaro.

Again, Gregory XIII. (1572—1585) took pains for their conversion, but by an error of judgment he compelled them to be present at a sermon preached expressly for them in one of the churches. Sixtus V. did not conceal that he granted them protection solely from temporal and political motives. He guaranteed to them liberty of residence and of trade, with the free exercise of their religion; and, to a certain extent, equal rights with his Christian subjects. Clement VIII. (1592—1605) again restricted their liberty of residence, confining it to the cities of Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. Among the Popes who succeeded him, Innocent XI., the celebrated antagonist of Louis XIV., (1676—1689,) was the most distinguished for his humanity and benevolence towards the Jews: at the time when the Morea was occupied by the Venetians, it was owing to the special protection of the Pontiff that the Jewish prisoners were released as well as the Christians. The obligation of hearing the sermon was, however, strictly enforced by this Pope. The conduct of succeeding Pontiffs towards the Jews has never offered any striking traits either of favour or severity.

The history of the Italian Peninsula, as it

regards the Jews, shows a marked bias in their favour about the middle of the eighteenth century, which, however, was of little avail in restoring them to a country from which they had been banished for centuries, and where, as in Spain and Portugal, their descendants had mingled with the higher and lower nobility after a true or feigned conversion to Christianity, but where they had never been admitted as Jews. This country was the kingdom of Naples, in which, however, the Inquisition had never been able to establish itself. Charles III. (of the Spanish branch of the Bourbons) published in 1740 an edict, by which permission was granted to the Jews for a term of fifty years to establish themselves at Naples, with liberty of trade by sea and by land, right of their own jurisdiction, and a position as much as possible on a footing with the rest of the King's subjects. In this edict they were allowed to possess what books they liked in any language; to practise and teach medicine; to have their own burial-ground and market-place; to hold Turkish slaves on the single condition of restoring them to liberty in case of their baptism, on receipt of a consideration; to have Christian servants, the men to be above five-and-twenty, and the

women above five-and-thirty, with every other liberty and privilege possible in those days, and under a dynasty of Spanish extraction. This edict, however, was never put in execution, owing to the ill-will of the Roman Catholic population stirred up by the Jesuit, Pépé, also high in esteem at Court, though neither his opposition nor his threats could deter the King from carrying out his intentions. The people conspired on all sides to make any settlement of the Jews impossible, and it appears there were even some thoughts of a general massacre. Whatever was really the case, the project, thus arrested in its beginning, was never afterwards mooted.

In France, as we have before noticed, the Jewish population from the beginning of the sixteenth century was composed of three decidedly different bodies: the French Jews, (among whom we may reckon those of Avignon, though many were of Italian descent); the Spanish and Portuguese Jews; and the Alsatian Jews, who, as well as the Jews of Lorraine, were in reality German Jews, who had become the subjects of France, either by right of conquest under Louis XIV., or by treaty and inheritance under Louis XV. We have mentioned the settlement and privileges

enjoyed by the Spanish and Portuguese emigrants in France, and also of a body of Jews and their descendants in the southern provinces of France, especially in Provence.

The science and literature, as well as the trade and civilization of the Jews of France, was entirely concentrated in these two divisions of the people.

Of the remaining Jewish population, part had disappeared, and the rest had sunk to a level with their brethren in Germany, being rather endured upon sufferance than tolerated by virtue of rights or privileges. No names worthy of note in history have been found among them. Whether the famous banker, Samuel Bernard, (the Rothschild of his time, who went over to the Roman Catholic Church, and established his family by marriages with many of the chief houses in France), belonged to the original Jews of France, or to a family of Israelitish refugees in that country, is uncertain. French memoirs of his time speak of the eminent financial services he rendered to Louis XV. in the latter and more disastrous years of his reign. The haughty monarch, already advanced in years, might be seen condescending himself to conduct the Jew, Samuel Bernard, over his palace, and exhibit-

ing the curiosities of the royal abode at Marly. The Jewish capitalist was unable to resist these royal attentions, and the monarch in his distress was too happy to secure the friendship of this new ally.

During the same century, the eighteenth, Paris became again the residence of a Jewish population, composed of the three bodies before mentioned, who came to increase in that capital both their own numbers and their temporal resources. The Jews in Alsace meanwhile continued in as abject a condition as in any part of Germany, because of the horrible leprosy of usury which there, in particular, made them hateful. In Strasburgh, only a very few families were allowed to reside, the members and descendants of which, even to the present day, have obtained esteem in equal proportion with the contempt that is awarded to the rest of their nation. In Lorraine, also, the whole of the Jews were in bad odour for the same reason. Duke Leopold, in 1724, had established the laws concerning them on a permanent footing. From that time permission to reside was granted only to 180 families, with liberty of conscience and permission to trade, but with strict injunctions to keep within the Jewish quarters. At the

same time heavy taxes were imposed upon them in Germany, and even the degrading obligation to pay toll as cattle,—an imposition which Louis XVI. first did away with in France in 1784, and King Frederic William II., three years after, in Prussia. In the rest of Germany this toll was not abolished till the revolutionary era had commenced.

It is a fact worthy of note, that the period we have just named—the period which effected such a complete change in the position both of Protestants and Jews in France, as well as in all ranks and classes of society, was brought about, in great measure, by men who were at heart entirely indifferent to Protestantism, and full of contempt and hatred towards the Jews.

The philosophers and Encyclopedists (though for different reasons) certainly looked with no more favour on the Jews than those who, in ancient times, had persecuted them because of their religion. Intolerant Christians had shown aversion to the Jews because they were *the enemies of the Gospel*; the *soi-disant* tolerant Infidels hated them, on the contrary, because of their position as *witnesses to the Gospel*; because Jesus Christ and his apostles had been of their race; because their very existence constituted a proof and an in-

contestable evidence of the historical truth of the Old as well as the New Testament. No one could have carried contempt and hatred for all that relates either to religion or to the Jews (including Christianity) to a greater height than did Voltaire, at once the champion and the idol of what was looked upon as religious tolerance and philosophical philanthropy.

Long before the cry of liberty and equality had spread from the centre of America and of France on the European Continent, the Government of Great Britain had already tried the adventurous step of granting naturalization to the Jews, with some few restrictions, which the nature of the constitution rendered absolutely necessary. The number of the Jewish population in England at that time was calculated at about 1,200, which has since been more than doubled. The richer and more influential members of the community had, from the time of their admission, loyally served the Government, both in person and with their capital; they had still more recently, during the insurrection of 1745, given proof of their fidelity to the reigning Protestant dynasty. In the colonies, as we have seen, they were from the first admitted on

a footing of equality with the former English inhabitants. For all these reasons the ministers, in 1753, brought a Bill into Parliament "granting to all Jews who had resided in Great Britain or Ireland for the space of three years the rights of English citizenship, with the exception of patronage and admission to Parliament." The Bill passed, notwithstanding violent opposition both without and within the House ; some of the speakers in the debate uttered the most disastrous forebodings as to the consequences of such a measure upon the honour, the commerce, and especially the religion of the country, which they beheld in idea entirely pervaded by Judaism. After the law had passed, however, public feeling against the measure was far more loudly expressed ; one of the Bishops who had voted for it was hooted and otherwise ill-treated, and the Government was beset on all sides with Petitions for a repeal of the Bill. Shortly after it was, in fact, repealed by Parliament on the recommendation of the Ministers. It is worthy of remark, that the Jews themselves at that time appeared little anxious for the success of the measure. On the contrary, they were rather opposed to it, fearing on their own side great danger to the religion of their fathers, just as

the Christians did on theirs. A circumstance calculated to increase this fear on the part of the Jews was the conversion of Simpson Gedeon, son of one of the principal Jews in London, to the faith of the English Church. He married a sister of General Gage, and was returned to Parliament for the county of Cambridge, and afterwards for Coventry. It was among the higher ranks of society in England, generally speaking, that most displeasure was felt at the repeal of this law.

In the midland and eastern parts of Europe the monotonous history of Israel's degradation and humiliation was varied from time to time by adversities and events of a different nature from those we have just described. Among the Sclavonic races, including the whole of Hungary to the very confines of Turkey, the Jews, as of old, continued to form an essential element of society by means of their incredible activity. They were the sole intermediate agents between the jovial and warlike nobility and the rest of the inhabitants, who were treated nearly on the footing of serfs. By this means everything that was in any way connected with commerce, manufactures, and trade in retail, fell entirely into the hands of the Jews, and was carried on by their inter-

vention. In other respects, excluded from all intercourse with Christians in everything relating to science, art, and mental cultivation, their fine capacity and high intellectual powers were for the most part confined within the narrow circle of their own theological studies. This barren and death-like condition, however, could not entirely preserve them from some remains of mediæval persecutions. Thus, in 1541, accusations were laid against the Jews of having been the cause of a series of incendiary fires which at that time desolated Bohemia, and they had already received orders from the Emperor to leave the country, when fortunately the real culprits were discovered, and the Jews cleared from the accusation. Soon after, a fresh persecution was raised, with new threats of expulsion; while an inquiry was set on foot to decide the question, whether the Jewish prayer-book contained curses against the Christians. They gained but little in being absolved from this new accusation; for a decree of banishment was on the point of being hurled against the whole of the Israelitish population, when a Jew, named Mordecai Temak, obtained the intervention of Pope Pius IV., and by this means averted the execution of the decree. Another disaster was,

about the same time, added to their misfortunes by a fire, which at Prague consumed the whole of the Jewish quarter. In the year 1574 many Jews of Moravia lost their lives during an insurrection of the people. During the course of the seventeenth century more favourable relations were established between the Bohemian Government and its Jewish subjects. By their zeal and activity in the defence of the city of Prague against the Swedes, conjointly with the Imperial troops, they gained both applause and privileges; among the latter was permission to take part in the public festivities, on account of the peace, (in 1649,) bearing two banners, which had on some former occasions been presented by the Emperor of Germany to the Jews. On the other hand, they had in Hungary excited the wrath of the Imperialists by holding out their quarter against them when the Turks were in possession of the rest of the town.

The year 1744 seemed likely to bring upon the two hundred thousand Jews of Bohemia a catastrophe more terrible than any their nation had experienced for the space of two centuries,—a banishment in perpetuity from that country! The States-General of the Netherlands, at the request of the synagogue of

Amsterdam, took a lively interest in their case, and, supported by the English Government, succeeded in making manifest the innocence of the Jews and persuading the Imperial Government to reverse this terrible decree,—not, however, before thousands of Jews had left the country.

In the Russian or Muscovite territory but few Jews were to be met with during the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. They appear, however, to have been admitted during the reign of Peter the Great, as the Czar is reported to have said, "He did not fear for his Russians the cleverest or most crafty Israelite." In the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, 1745, their residence in Russia was again forbidden, on account of a correspondence which had been discovered with the exiles of Siberia. The large portion of the Jewish population of Poland which is under the sceptre of Russia has been often tyrannized over, but never driven out by the Government. We hear also of another part of Russia, in which a body of Jews have not only existed, but attained distinction in a peculiar manner. In the Ukraine they have long been devoted to agriculture and the study of natural history, with other similar mental

and bodily exercises. They are said to have attained in consequence a high degree of civilization, and to have been admitted to posts of honour and of public trust. In the Crimea, also, there have long been whole villages of Jews distinguished by their prosperity and mental culture.

Poland, meanwhile, has ever remained classic ground, as respects the singularity, both in position and character, of its Jews, during their long exile and deep humiliation. The Jews themselves look upon their Polish brethren as the most highly-gifted of the nation, both in intellectual power and every kind of mental qualification. Nowhere else do we find in so great a degree, among the dispersed nation, a life of so much social activity combined with a remarkable bent towards religion and contemplative philosophy; nowhere else so wide a separation between science and theology, and, at the same time, such great capacity for scientific knowledge; nowhere else such deep national debasement, resulting from ages of ignoble occupation and servile subjection, with a character so highly respectable, both in its moral qualities and domestic relations; in a word, nowhere do so many remains of ancient

nobility, and, at the same time, of the most wretched degeneracy, appear even in the expression of countenance and stature of body. These singular and original characteristics of the Polish Jew are to be found, not only in the mystic theosophy which usually distinguishes their schools and their theologians, but even in the existence of Caraïtes amidst these synagogues, in other respects buried, if we may so express it, in the study of the Talmud.

We shall not be surprised, then, to find that Poland, in great part, supplied the synagogues of Germany with teachers and rabbins, after the beginning of the seventeenth century. I say, after the beginning of the seventeenth century; because, before that time Bohemia seems to have been superior to Poland in this respect, which itself received its principal rabbins from the Jewish academy at Prague. The synagogues of Bohemia, in the earlier part of the period we are now considering, boasted of learned men and authors, such as Rabbi David Ganz, who, in imitation of the Spanish Rabbi, Abraham Zacuth, and of the Italico-Spanish Rabbi, Gedalia Ben Jachia, wrote a Jewish chronicle, which is well known under the title of "Zemach David" (Branch of David). Rabbi Jehudah Bezaleel, of Prague,

who afterwards migrated to Poland, was the author of a book "On the Deliverance and Perpetuity of Israel," intended to encourage the expectation of a Messiah. Rabbi Mordecai, Japhé, and many others, were all disciples, or the disciples of disciples of Rabbi Jacob Falk, who made himself a name in the sixteenth century, by introducing into the synagogue the Christian method of disputation on matters of religion, and applying this method to Talmudic studies. In later years Cabballistic Sabbathism had, in the synagogues of Poland, a decided revival, and found, in the person of Jacob Frank, a simple artisan, an influential leader.

From the time of Sabbathai Sevi, to that of the Frankists, Cabballistic associations and views had never entirely ceased to exist. After the death of Sabbathai, Rabbi Nehemiah himself became one of the most zealous supporters of the doctrines taught by the man he had mainly contributed to unmask. He was, in consequence, excommunicated, but, nevertheless, made many proselytes in Germany; he ended his career at Amsterdam, in 1690, where he had been living upon alms, as much detested for his opinions, as he was admired for his prodigious learning.

After his time, Cabballistic Sabbathism

re-appeared in a novel form, under the two leaders, Malach and Hajun. These two rabbins, one of whom was of Polish birth, were the only surviving members of a Jewish caravan, consisting of more than thirty families, who, by means of subscriptions raised in Bohemia, Moravia, Saxony, and Holland, were enabled to visit Jerusalem in the year 1700, keeping most strictly the penitential fasts, and abstaining from all animal food, except on the Sabbath; while they announced that the coming of Messiah was at hand. Most of these Jewish pilgrims died of hunger and misery, or returned to Europe; some, following the example of Sabbathai Sevi himself, went over to Mahometanism, at Jerusalem; others, and among them some rabbins of distinction, embraced Christianity. These two men, the only surviving Jews of the dispersed caravan, began zealously to propagate the doctrines of the sect, in spite of the anathemas of the rabbins of Jerusalem and Constantinople, which followed them into the midst of the German and Polish synagogues. Hajun published works which by their mystic singularity, but still more by their open confession of Trinitarian doctrines, excited to the highest degree the animosity of the Rabbins. Refutations, in

which the person, as well as the doctrine of the Cabalist was vehemently attacked, were spread from Constantinople and Smyrna, as far as Amsterdam, and elsewhere in the Spanish tongue. The sect, notwithstanding, made great progress in Poland, owing (as its enemies declared) especially to its indulgence towards all sorts of irregularity and sin ; though, according to others, it was characterized by the observance of the severest abstinence. The two extremes are often found closely united in similar sects. There is little doubt, however, that fanaticism and superstition disfigured the sect of Hajun.

In the year 1722, the whole sect was solemnly excommunicated by all the synagogues. Then, Hajun, proscribed throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa as a deceiver and teacher of false doctrines, contrived to be presented to the Emperor at Vienna, with whom he ingratiated himself by the manner in which he inveighed against ordinary Judaism. About the same time, many Rabbins of Moravia and Bohemia joined the sect; among others, a certain Lobli played a conspicuous part as a kind of prophet, upon whom Hajun had imposed hands. A little later in the year 1725, emissaries were sent out here and there

to propagate the doctrines of the sect, in particular, a certain Moses Meir, who visited Frankfort and Manheim for that purpose. Severe measures were taken against the proselytes by the synagogues at Amsterdam, Hamburgh, and especially at Prague. In 1730, Moses Haiim Luzzato, who, in his youth had published several works of a mystic tendency, became a leader of the sect in Poland. He acted in concert with a physician of Wilna, named Jekuthiel, who headed a Cabballistic movement of no small importance. His conduct, however, was unsatisfactory, and the close of his short career insignificant. To the Rabbins who examined him, he denied by letter all participation in Sabbathaism, and then again published hymns and writings composed according to those opinions, which display great talent. At last he appears to have entirely given up the prohibited views, and after having for a time gained a livelihood at Amsterdam by polishing diamonds, he set off for Jerusalem, where he ended his days.

Another offset of Sabbathaism in those days was the sect of the Chasidim (or saints), who also acknowledge the Cabballa as the foundation of their doctrines and practice. They disciplined themselves with fasting and mace-

ration, abstained from all animal food, and, in general, from all earthly enjoyments. Their chief bore the title of Tzadik (or, the righteous), a name which they still retain, instead of that of Rabbi. The first was a certain Israel, surnamed Baal Schem, who taught in Poland, and afterwards in Podolia. His sentiments and actions have been amply detailed in a book written in German Rabbinic, which, in the years from 1814—1818, had immense sale among the Jews. He was revered by his sect as the representative of the Deity upon earth, to whose commands as much obedience was due as to those of God himself. The great drift of his teaching consisted in enforcing the contemplation of God, and strict obedience to the Tzadik, combined with a complete repose of the soul, which ought not to be distracted by the study of human science. After Israel's death (1760) his three principal disciples, who were also his grandsons, were elected chiefs of three divisions of the Chasidim ; by this means the former unity of the sect was broken up, and it was afterwards formed into a number of communities or associations. Meanwhile, the number of its adherents had increased from ten to forty thousand. Israel Baal Schem is said, in the books of the Chasidim, to have

been taken up to heaven, there to live in the society of angels, acting as mediator with God and reconciling to Him every Jew who brings up his children in the doctrines of the Chasidim. The dignity of Tzadik continued high in esteem long after the death of Israel Baal Schem; not only was its possessor venerated as holy, but his whole family shared in the deference paid to him, and all his relations were looked upon as saints among the Jews. His books, his clothes, his furniture, and especially his tomb, were considered as preservatives from and instrumental in the expiation of sin; to serve the Tzadik gave a right to eternal life hereafter,—to converse with him was to be in a state of beatitude here upon earth.

It is evident that the elements of this strange sect, most remarkable as a phenomenon in the Judaism of later centuries, are to be met with not only in the Cabbala of the Jews, but also in the soofism, or quietist theosophy, of the Orientals, and in great part likewise in the Roman Catholic Church. The branch of Sabbathiasm held by the Chasidim is so completely a mixture of divers ingredients that it bestows honour both on the Talmud and the Cabbala, though, in many respects, diametrically opposite one to the other. Thus

the Chasidim declare themselves as originally Talmudist Jews, and their Liturgy is that of the Sephardim, while their hymns and poems are of Cabbalistic tendency. At last, the entire discrepancy between Cabbalistic Sabbathism and the Talmud was made clearly manifest, when, in 1755, a certain Meschullam, a member of that sect, publicly burnt a copy of the Talmud in the midst of the Jewish quarter of a city in Podolia. The Talmudist rabbins, who in theory exalt the Cabbala, but detest any practical application of it, needed not this mark of aversion to their book of laws, to make them feel how great an obstacle was opposed by the Chasidim to their doctrines and authority; they had already condemned the sect in Poland, on account of its numerous fanatical aberrations.

The anti-Talmudic nature of real Cabbalistic theology was made clearly and entirely manifest, when Jacob Frank, by birth a Polish Jew (according to some, of Wallachia), and by profession, in his younger days, a distiller of brandy, first rose up in Turkey, in the year 1760. When he began, at the age of eight-and-thirty, to preach his doctrines in the synagogues of Poland, and to make open attacks upon the Talmud, a schism ensued, in which

the Christian Government thought it right to interfere. The new sect which had completely cast off the Talmud, and taken the Zohar as the basis of its confession of faith, found favour and protection from the Bishop of Camentz, on account of the decided bias to Christianity contained in many of the articles of belief published by Frank and his associates. He also allowed himself, without difficulty, to be baptized, so that the sect was soon looked upon rather as an excrescence of Christianity than of Judaism. Great obscurity rests, to this day, on the real sentiments and projects of Frank, as well as on the secret bias of the sect. It is, however, clearly ascertained that the doctrine of the Trinity, as a dogma of the Cabala, was professed with all possible clearness in their confession of faith. The Zoharites (for so the sect called themselves) declared their belief:—"that no religion can possibly exist without the knowledge of God; all other religion is an outward service of works; piety and the love of God are the effects of a profound acquaintance with his nature, and this must be sought in the study of his law, where it is found as within a kernel, from which it must be deduced by means of tradition; the doctrine of Moses and the prophets has an

inward meaning far deeper than that of the letter, without which it is only a dead letter, and the source of errors and mistakes, the cause of the dangerous doctrines of the Talmud;—according to the pure doctrine of the Word of God, there is one only God, the Creator and Preserver of all things, but revealed in three persons;—God has appeared from the beginning upon earth in human form, but after the entrance of sin he laid aside this form, and has since taken it again for the expiation of sin; he will once again appear in human nature finally to deliver man from sin. As for Jerusalem, it will never be rebuilt, and a terrestrial Messiah is not to be expected.”

From this confession, which contains a mixture of truth with error, Frank and his followers ought certainly to be looked upon as belonging rather to the Christian than the Jewish faith, and they gained at first a favourable reception from the Roman Catholic clergy. A little later, after the death of the Bishop of Camenz, the Church of Rome, stirred up by the rabbins, began to look upon this sect as dangerous, and it was, for a time, persecuted on account of its Jewish Cabballistic views, as it had been before by the synagogue

for its Cabballistic Christian dogmas. Many of its followers emigrated to Turkey, where, for want of the protection of the Rabbi, they fell into the hands of the Cadi, and were afterwards ill-treated and plundered by the populace. Many decidedly embraced the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, retaining, however, sufficient remains of Judaism to arouse suspicion.

Jacob Frank, who, from the first, had declared himself a Christian, continued to act as head of the sect, declaring that the Lord and the Prophet Elijah had appeared to him, commanding him to convert the Jews. He was looked upon with distrust by the clergy, though he declared himself an obedient son of the Church, and was for some time detained a prisoner at Czentoschow on account of his strange opinions, but afterwards delivered by the Russians when they took possession of the fortress in 1777. He then travelled through Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia, with a large retinue and great pomp, and established himself for some years in the capital of Austria, under the protection of the Empress, Maria Theresa. From thence he went to Bruna, in Moravia, accompanied by a number of Jews

and Jewesses, always living in the style of an Eastern prince, wearing a splendid uniform, and abundantly supplied from Poland with money for all his expenses. Many years later, when no longer admitted at Vienna, he fixed himself at Offenbach, in Hesse, where he lived in a kind of palace, always keeping up the character he had assumed as head of a religious sect. There, numbers of Sabbathait Jews from all countries resorted to him, presenting gifts and joining in the public prayers which he conducted with a great display of magnificence, accompanied by all sorts of singular ceremonies, the meaning of which have never to this day been explained. He died three years after his arrival at Offenbach, and was buried with great pomp according to the rites of the Romish Church, being followed to the grave by a great concourse of people as a public benefactor. A cross was set up over his tomb. For some time his daughter took his place in the guidance of the sect, which was, however, soon dispersed, especially when the pecuniary supplies began to fail. Ten years after his death, his successors and children (for he left two sons besides his daughter Eve) published a circular letter addressed to

all the German synagogues, written many years before by Frank himself, exhorting the Jews to acknowledge the Christian religion.

The evidence we gain from all these particulars suffices to prove that Jacob Frank, the head of the Frankists, (although he must be looked upon as a fanatic or adventurer,) never wished to be otherwise thought of than as a professor of Christianity. Though partaking in the views of Sabbathai Sevi as to value of Cabballistic doctrines, he never attempted to give himself out as the Messiah. He rather considered that he had received a mission to unite together all religions, sects, and confessions. Among the paradoxical opinions he is said to have advanced, was the idea that the Lord Jesus Christ is still upon earth, and that he would soon again send forth twelve apostles to publish the Gospel. The reasons of Frank's surrounding himself with all the insignia of high rank have never been explained. It has been suspected, and with much probability, that the pomp he assumed had reference to his dignity as chief of a kind of freemasonry or mystical Order, of which his sect have, since his death, kept up the marked characteristics. All that now remains of the Frankists is contained within

the Roman Catholic Church of Poland; they are, therefore, Christians by profession, though distinguishing themselves, as we have observed, by a kind of separation, or "*esprit de corps*," and by marked remains of Judaism. Some consider that they still retain in secret a belief in the religion of the synagogue. They are found in Poland, especially at Warsaw, dispersed among all, even the highest classes of society, chiefly in the profession of lawyer or physician. They are said to have taken a considerable share in the war of insurrection against Russia in the year 1830: it has even been said, that the chief of the Frankists was member of the Diet of Poland, and afterwards obliged to take refuge as an exile in France.

At the period of which we have been speaking, while in the southern and eastern parts of Europe Cabballistic theosophy had brought about a stir in the midst of ancient Judaism, a movement of a very different kind was preparing in the north-western parts, and in Germany. In Prussia, Mendelsohn, the philosopher formed by Plato and Maimonides, was a cotemporary of the adventurous Cabalist, Jacob Frank, in Poland and Austria. In the whole of Germany, where, during the eighteenth century, new changes in many ways

for the exiles of Palestine were already being gradually developed, the whole state of the Jews, if not more deeply degraded than in Poland, was at least much more barren and death-like. Any one who takes the slightest interest in the fate and the sufferings of the ancient people of God, cannot fail to be touched in reading the circumstantial accounts and the complaints of a German Jewish historian of our time concerning what his nation had done and suffered, had been and had not been, especially before the time of the peace of Westphalia and since, (with a ray of hope for better times,) until the reigns of Frederic the Great and Joseph II. They were, to use the words of the historian, a "mass of suffering." And though they had already been a suffering nation—suffering because of their transgressions, and despised and chastened because of their sins and corruptions,*—yet, in the days which elapsed between the time of the Reformation and the dawn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they had, if possible, fallen still lower:—by long-enduring habit they had become almost insensible to their misery, and even to the shame which attended it. A nation without a father-land,

* See Jost's "Geschichte der Juden," viii. 309, &c.

without unity, without arts and sciences, without government, without power, either moral or physical, with no longer even the consciousness of that earlier calling and grandeur to which their deep downfal itself bore witness, and which might still have invested it with something of tragic elevation; if only they could have found tears, like their brethren in Spain and in Palestine, to weep over the dust of Jerusalem.

It is deeply painful to an Israelite who loves his nation, however dispersed, however humbled, to relate the history, or, rather, describe the death-like position of his people, at a time and in a country when that people exhibited no other feelings than those of pecuniary interest and self-preservation; yes, when they had so completely accustomed themselves to their abject and servile position, that the multitude of them no longer regarded it as a subject for tears, but rather made a jest of it;—far more deplorable was, then, the position of the chosen people than was that of their Sampson, who, until his lion-like strength returned with the hair of his Nazariteship, was compelled to make sport in the midst of the Philistines, because he had for a time turned aside from obedience to his God. We

cannot look without astonishment, and even admiration, upon the elasticity of human nature, especially among the people of Israel (the people of the resurrection, as some one in our day has called them), when we consider the depth of wretchedness and degeneracy from which, particularly in Germany, the Jew had to be raised before he became *even a man*.

Among the advantages from which the German Jew was entirely excluded during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was that of science, and under that term we must include even their own theology. If here and there, during that period, one or two theologians are to be met with, and a few Jewish writings were published, the greater part, even of these, belonged, by birth or family, to the Sclavonic countries of Bohemia, Hungary, or Poland, rather than to Germany itself. The meagre stock of Jewish literature in this country offers but few German names of any note. Rabbi Naphtali Altschuler, in 1550, was the author of a commentary on the whole of the Old Testament; Nathan Spira, who died in 1577, published a few mystical works; Jacob Ben Isaac, in 1625, was the author of a book called the "Bible for Women," which is much in use among the Jews; and Naph-

tali Herz wrote an introduction to the study of the Cabbala.

In considering the relative social position of the Jews throughout the empire, as well in the separate Principalities as in the States, we shall find that in many of the former the Jews were not tolerated, at least, on any secure tenure, with liberty, privileges, and the right of building a synagogue. For example, the Electors Frederick II. and Otho Henry refused them admittance to the Palatinate; they were looked upon as equally unwelcome both in Prussia and Wirtemberg, and in many cities of Saxony they were "refused water," according to the ancient Roman formula.

In the free cities of the Empire, their position, though less precarious, was not much more inviting. We should be greatly mistaken if we took what has been related of Hamburg as a sample of their treatment in the other commercial and republican cities of Germany during the period between 1517—1789. Their happier position in that city arose from the arrival and prosperity of the Sephardim at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which was extended in part to the originally German Jews of Hamburg,

a circumstance which was not, in all cases, equally productive of good.

We may form a juster idea of the feeling of aversion with which the Jews were tolerated, from motives of interest, in the free towns of the Empire, by recalling a well-known German proverb of the Middle Ages, which remained long after in application : “ Happy is that town where there is neither Abraham (a Jew), or Nimrod (a tyrant), or Naaman, (a leper).”* We also find a striking account of the way in which the Jews lived in those cities ; and the light in which they were viewed by the learned men and the clergy, as well as by the rude, ignorant multitude, in a book written by the pastor and rector, T. T. Schudt, of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, published in 1714, and entitled, “ Jewish Curiosities.” In reading it, we hardly know which should most excite our astonishment, whether the deeply-fallen condition of the unhappy nation themselves, among whom even temporal prosperity and well-being seemed to form an exception to the general rule, and who, as a whole, were, in that place especially, the continual subject of prejudice, and the butt of end-

* *Felix est civitas in qua non est Abraham, Nimrod, et Naaman.*

less taunts and derision. Or is it not rather at the feelings and convictions of pastors and members of the Christian Church, who, with the prophets of Israel, the Gospel of Christ, and the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans before their eyes, appear to have rejected every feeling of humanity, every hope of restoration for Israel, knowing only, like the Edomites, how to heap injury upon injury upon the children of Abraham? Yea, even accusing of Judaism and heresy those who could cherish any cheering anticipations for the Israelites as a nation? And yet the book of the Rector Schudt, hostile and virulent as it is against the Jews in general, is interesting by the information it gives of their manner of life, customs, and peculiarities, which might be sought for in vain elsewhere.

The local laws of Frankfort were in keeping with the general prejudices of the people against the Jews,—a few specimens will suffice by way of example: they were forbidden to come out of their own quarter on Sunday, or any Christian festival, and even the gates of their street, or portion of the town, were locked; they might not take into their house as lodgers any Jew, except their own family and relations to the second or third degree;—

they were not allowed to have Christian servants or nurses,—nor to walk about the town at the time of any festivity, or during the stay of any foreign prince;—they might not frequent the public walks;—if they touched any article of food in the market, they were compelled to buy it, with many other similar restrictions.

Here, then, are a few traits, which clearly mark the degree of esteem and well-being in society, which fell to the lot of that Jewish quarter at Frankfort, (until near the close of the eighteenth century,) whence sprung a few years later the celebrated commercial house, whose gold and paper should hold both sovereigns and people in check, and in a manner decide upon the question of war or peace in Europe.

And, yet, however miserable was the condition which we have just described of the Jews at Frankfort, this town was looked upon by them as a more desirable residence than many other cities of Germany, on account of the protection afforded by the Government, the freedom for commercial speculation which they enjoyed; and, lastly, because of the high esteem in which the Rabbins of its Synagogue were held throughout Germany.

Attempts were at times made to rid the city entirely of its Jewish population. The years of 1613 and 1815, witnessed scenes of a nature that call to mind the excesses of the famous flagellants; and which would, perhaps, have completely revived them, if the magistrates had not at length succeeded in subduing the party who were at enmity with the Jews. A plan was formed by the populace, and encouraged by a number of the citizens, to pillage the whole of the Jewish quarter. This plot, which had failed in the first instance, was again revived in connexion with some other dispute between the magistrates and the labouring classes. The people fell upon the Jewish quarter, and began to pillage; the Jews acted on the defensive, and several persons were killed and wounded on both sides. At last, the Jews were overpowered by the superior numbers of their assailants, against whom the magistrates would oppose no efficient force.

An agreement was entered into, by which the Jews were compelled to quit Frankfort for ever, upon the sole condition of a safe-conduct, allowing them to retire unmolested. In consequence, more than 1,400 of the Jewish inhabitants left the city; while a portion still remained concealed, and protected by the more

benevolent of the citizens. The Jewish quarter was closed, and the town even by this means with difficulty preserved in peace.

Shortly after this display of violence, the power of the magistracy was re-established, and the Jews restored to their rights (1616). The affair was brought before the Imperial Chamber, and the leaders of the insurrection condemned to severe and even capital punishment. Fettmilch, the most guilty, was beheaded and afterwards quartered; two of his accomplices also suffered the penalty of death, while eight less guilty were publicly whipped in presence of the Jews. The latter were solemnly brought back into Frankfort, under an escort of cavalry and infantry, with banners flying, the full possession of their quarter restored, and themselves taken under the special protection of the Emperor, whose arms were suspended over the gate of the "Juden Strasse." The people agreed together to make them some amends; the laws of the city concerning them were renewed and ameliorated in their favour; only the rate of interest (always the avowed or secret cause of all these disturbances) was reduced to a moderate standard.

This affair at Frankfort (the remembrance of which has been preserved by the Jews in a

kind of poem, in the rabbinical dialect, in imitation of the book of Esther) had hardly ended, when the enemies of the Jews at Worms followed the example which was thus set them. A lawyer, named Chemnitz, together with many of the citizens, formed a plan for bringing before the Chamber of Justice at Spires a formal accusation against the Jews, by which means they flattered themselves with the hope of procuring their banishment. This plan having failed, because the sentence of the Chamber only served to regulate the rate of interest, they had recourse to a popular disturbance, against which the magistrates had not power to afford sufficient succour. The Jews were in consequence driven out by the populace, the Jewish quarter taken by assault, the synagogue, which was said to have existed for 767 years, was demolished, and the burying ground destroyed. The city was soon obliged to call in the assistance of the Elector Palatine; troops sent from Heidelberg restored the city to order. The whole affair underwent a legal investigation, in consequence of which Dr. Chemnitz was degraded from his profession, and banished the country, while the Jews, escorted by the Imperial troops, in the beginning of the year 1616, took posses-

sion of their quarter, where they have since that time remained undisturbed.

At Frankfort, near the end of the same century, the Jews suffered from a catastrophe of a different nature, the consequences of which reflect credit both on the inhabitants of the town and the sufferers from this fresh misfortune. A terrible fire, which first broke out in the house of the learned Cabalist, Rabbi Naphtali Cohen, owing to the insufficient precautions taken against it, spread to the whole Jewish quarter, and reduced it to ashes. Even the enemies of the Jews were obliged to admire the resignation which they evinced on this occasion. The Christians, on their side, showed great humanity towards the sufferers. The citizens received into their houses whole families who had been at once deprived of home and subsistence, not without having consulted the clergy, who, wonderful to relate, had expressed their approbation. The Rector Schudt, however, of whom we have spoken, made this a cause of reproach to the citizens of Frankfort, while he profited by the occasion cruelly to malign the Jewish nation. But, even in the midst of the kindness shown at that moment to the unhappy people, voices were raised in the town declaring that if a

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similar catastrophe should occur again, it would be necessary to massacre all the Jews. An edict from the Emperor Joseph I., addressed to the chief magistrate of the town, put a stop to these threats, and to all hostile demonstrations. The Jewish quarter was soon entirely rebuilt; their numbers amounting, at that period, to twelve or thirteen thousand.

The two principal states of the German Empire in which an amendment in the position of the Jews began to appear, and to develop itself as early as the eighteenth century, were Roman Catholic Austria and Protestant Prussia. This amendment, which has continued in action to the present day, was, however, accompanied by many unfavourable circumstances. It had been preceded by times of tribulation and oppression, similar to those we have just described in the free cities of the Empire. This had been especially the case in Austria. The house of Austria had in different ways been brought into connexion with the Jewish populations of different countries. At the close of the eighteenth century, the number of Jews subject to Imperial dominion, in the Italian, Sclavonic, and German States, amounted to about two hundred and fifty thousand. Yet the ancient rights of the Em-

peror of Germany over the Jews had either fallen into oblivion, or devolved upon the sovereigns of the different states of Germany. In Italy the Austrian rule had shown itself' favourably disposed towards them; they are found in more than one instance employed by the Emperor on important missions, and even raised to the rank of nobility. In Bohemia and Hungary we have already told the vicissitudes of their lot. In Austria Proper, at Vienna especially, their position was at first unfavourable, and afterwards uncertain, till the reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. The laws which regulated the admission of the Jews, and their treatment by the Government, had here, as elsewhere, been made during the Middle Ages. From the first establishment of the duchy, in 1267, the Jews were looked upon as belonging to the sovereign of the country. A council, held at Vienna, in 1167, had already imposed the ordinary burdens and prohibitions, which in Austria, however, were not enforced with rigour. The formula of the oath (which was not used there only) in that country is worthy of special notice. The Jew was obliged to take it upon the hide of a pig, while the wording of it (as if inviting to perjury) contained an almost explicit declaration,

that a curse rested upon himself and his children because of the death of Jesus. In after times, favour and ill-treatment in turns fell to their lot under the government of the archdukes. At Vienna and elsewhere they were, both in 1420 and in 1464, persecuted and threatened with murder and pillage. Maximilian I. persecuted them in Austria and tolerated them in Moravia. Ferdinand I. (1553—1564) granted them a residence in the Austrian capital, and a permission to trade in jewellery and horses, which latter they have since retained; afterwards he again drove them out. Maximilian II. (1564—1576) and Ferdinand II. and III. (1619—1657) granted them fresh liberties, and at Vienna they were in possession of a synagogue. But in that city especially, the populace were inclined to show them the very greatest hostility. These inimical feelings were increased in the years 1641—1646, by false rumours, stating that the Jews were employed on all sides as spies by the Swedes. An Imperial “safe-guard” was granted them in 1649 against all threats and ill-usage on this account. In 1668 they were accused of having set fire to the citadel: in consequence of this rumour the Jews and the citizens came to blows, and several were

killed and wounded on both sides. In vain this oppressed people implored the protection of the Empress, born Infanta of Spain; the magnificent present offered for that purpose was declined. An Imperial edict soon appeared, desiring the Jews to quit Vienna and the whole duchy; and their synagogues were changed into churches. A single exception was made in favour of Wolf Schlesinger, agent for the Court; and by favour of this permission other Israelites were soon after allowed. In 1677, Samuel Oppenheimer and Sampson Wertheimer took up their abode at Vienna as agents for the Court; in 1697, the Jews had again become sufficiently numerous to form a community. The Jews of Vienna, though in turns driven out and recalled, persecuted and favoured, had in the meantime some representatives of their nation high in favour at the Court. Thus the family of Oppenheimer possessed sufficient weight with the Government to prevent the publication of Professor Eisenmenger's celebrated work of "Judaism Unveiled," which seemed likely in Germany to stir up fresh persecutions against that people. An Imperial mandate pronounced sentence for the confiscation of all the copies of the work. The author himself had only permission to

preserve two, which he carried with him to Berlin. There, in consequence of the recommendation of the famous Yablontsky, the book had much better success, and not only permission but even pecuniary assistance towards the expenses of its publication was granted by the King. This work is now well known in the literary world, and has often been made use of to the disadvantage of the Jew, although it did not succeed in producing actual persecution. In Prussia especially, the Government was really beginning to form juster notions of the duty and the interests of the State in connexion with this part of the population ;—e. g., with the indestructible nation.

But to return to their fate in Austria. Their position in that country greatly improved during the reign of Maria Theresa. At that period the families of Arnstein, Eskeles, Zeidendorfer, Schlesinger, Sinzheimer, and Hönig von Hönnigsberg, were already high in favour at Court, and many of them raised to the nobility. Protection from the Court, also, encouraged the establishment of manufactories and workshops among the Jews, and their position in general, with the exception of much exclusion, and many severe but perhaps necessary restric-

tions, became gradually more and more favourable.

During the reign of Joseph II., however, the legislation for his Jewish subjects was entirely remodelled by the edict of toleration, published in 1782,—an edict which has since been celebrated by Jewish pens, both in prose and verse, as marking a decisive epoch. By this edict all the old regulations were abolished,—the Jews allowed to take up their abode in any town they pleased, (though in the country, only by express permission.) A distinction was made by the same edict between the inhabitants of the country and strangers; the strangers (a burden which fell as heavily upon the resident Jews as upon the country itself) were compelled to submit to many hard conditions;—as a remuneration for these new liberties, a considerable amount of taxation was imposed upon the former of the two classes; but the freedom, also, when compared with the original state of things, was considerable; no more distinctive mark on the dress,—no exclusion from festivals and public walks;—no confinement to a quarter apart;—the military profession, as well as those of law and medicine, thrown open to them;—the right of wearing a sword, and bearing titles

of nobility was granted, though without the power of holding landed property;—all trades were permitted, though without admission to the guilds;—protection to their children under fourteen against the proselytism of the Roman Catholics;—on their side the obligation to make use of surnames, to speak German instead of the language called *Jewish*, and to make use of the public institutions for instruction, whether Christian or Jewish. This edict, which was received with great applause by the Jews of Germany, formed really a turning point in the history of European legislation with regard to that nation.

The misfortunes which, in 1670, had driven the Jews from Vienna, were the principal cause of their establishment and the increase of their numbers in Prussia, in which country the latter half of the eighteenth century beheld an effectual change in their destiny, and a decided amendment in their position. Already, some time before the period we have named, the Jews had been again admitted into the states of the Elector of Brandenburgh. It was Frederic William, surnamed, on account of his great virtue and Christian piety, the Great Elector (1640—1688), to whose humane and benevolent administration towards all who

were oppressed, the Jews were indebted for an asylum and a safe abode in Prussia. He was himself under great obligations to Heiman Gompertz and Salomo Elias, his two agents for the Court, who displayed indefatigable zeal and unshaken fidelity in the management of all his financial resources for the war. When the Jews, who had been persecuted in Austria, applied, in consequence, to Neuman, the Resident for Brandenburgh, at Vienna, with a request to be admitted into the Electoral States, the immediate reply was, "That forty or fifty respectable families would be willingly received." In consequence of this permission, the specified number soon established themselves at Berlin, Potsdam, and other parts of the territory of the noble Elector. From this beginning sprung the whole synagogue that now exists in Prussia. The complaints which arose in different parts at the toleration and protection granted to the Jews, were met by the Elector with a firm adherence to the principles he had adopted, and a statement of the actual advantages which the country derived from its Jewish inhabitants. In the year 1696, their number was already so considerable, that Dr. Beckman, of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, requested permission to print the Talmud, in the

full expectation of finding a sufficient demand. In the last year of the seventeenth century a special body of rules for the Jews of the Electorate was first put in force. Calumnies and threats failed not to attend upon privileges which yet, as we shall see, did not prevent the continued exclusion of the Jews from public employment. At the same time, Jost Liebman and David Riess, jewellers to the Court, received permission to hold the synagogue services in their private residence ; soon after, a public house of prayer was allowed, but subjected to strict inspection, lest the Jewish Liturgy should contain any signs of enmity towards Christianity or its professors. In 1712, King Frederic commanded, on pain of severe penalty, that no vagabond Jews should be admitted into the country ; a measure which, as we have already remarked, was as much for the benefit of the resident Israelites themselves as for the other inhabitants, on account of the inconveniences and expense to which these were put by their wandering coreligionists, from which, to this day, they have never been entirely delivered. During the same reign, the synagogue at Berlin, one of the finest in Germany, was completed under the royal protection, in spite of the clamour raised on all

sides against so great a concession. The Government of Frederic William, (1717—1740,) the father and predecessor of Frederic the Great, was equally favourable to the Jews; at least he never persecuted them, notwithstanding the despotic tendency of his rule, while many of them were in peculiar favour at Court, and distinguished by various privileges. On the other hand, this same prince had imposed upon the Jews in his states some rather arbitrary charges; such was an obligation to purchase the royal venison, when the King in hunting had taken or killed more wild boars than he could consume at his own table. To comply with this absurd decree, they purchased the forbidden meat, and gave it to be consumed at the hospitals. A somewhat similar burden had of ancient times been laid upon them, upon any occasion of family rejoicing, such as the marriage of a son, the acquisition of property, or any similar event, the Israelite was compelled to make a purchase at the Royal porcelain manufactory, to the amount of 300 thalers. Afterwards, in the reign of Frederic William II., 1787, they were released in perpetuity from this obligation on the payment of 4,000 thalers at once.

Frederic the Great is thought not to have

looked favourably upon the Jews. It would indeed have been surprising that the friend of Voltaire, the philosophic and infidel king, should have shown any personal affection for the people of the Old Testament in their dispersion, at once so wretched and yet so full of meaning. Nevertheless, he took great pains to become acquainted with their position in the state. Though his decrees cannot be compared in liberality with those of Joseph II. for his own peculiar states—though the legislation of Frederic for the Jews did not produce a very happy consequence, yet even *Jewish historians do not attribute such a result to any ill-will on the part of the King towards this miserably oppressed nation, but to the wretchedness of the position in which he found them, and to their historical relations, which could not at once be changed. It is even related (so far was Frederic II. from any positive dislike to them,) that he himself made the observation that, “To oppress the Jews never brought prosperity to any Government.” When, therefore, he paid no regard to the merit of Moses Mendelsohn, or at least gave him no token of approbation, it was rather the indifference shown by the King as a French author to

* See Jost, ix. 35, 36.

German literature in general, than any prejudice against the Jews, which caused this neglect. On the contrary, many Israelites obtained reception and favour at his Court, as well as that of his father. His "General Privilege," published in the year 1750, which in part abolished, and in part revived and confirmed the ancient laws concerning the Jews, appears to have had in view the diminution of their numbers, but, at the same time, the amendment of their social position. Hence arose the great severity with which the Government guarded against the entrance of strange Jews, and the precautions of every kind which were taken to assure a home to those Jews who were possessed of wealth, and also to keep at a distance all who could not bring proof of possessing the means of subsistence. By this "Privilegium" the Jewish population was more strictly than ever divided into Jews tolerated *by inheritance*, Jews *personally* tolerated, that is to say, only during their own life, to the exclusion of their descendants. All who were not positively engaged in business or connected with the synagogue by any post or office, belonged to the second class. Among those who were tolerated *by inheritance*, the right of abode descended to only one child of

the family; after 1740, by virtue of a privilege purchased at the price of seventy thousand thalers, a second child might also enjoy his father's right, on giving proof that he possessed a capital of one thousand thalers. The regulations on the subject of marriage were especially severe. All Jewish servants who wished to marry were obliged to leave the country. At Berlin the Jews were not allowed to hold in possession more than forty houses, in the rest of the kingdom the same proportion held good, and in no case without special permission. All landed property was entirely refused to them; while impositions in every possible form, and on every occasion, were levied upon about 1,600 Jewish families, in 1786. Their sphere of activity was limited to trade either in money or effects, and in some few instances to industrial arts,* but only by express permission from

* It is worthy of note, that the only art which at this period was carried to any perfection by the German Jews, was that of engraving on precious stones; an art in which, up to the present time, and in almost every country, they have shown peculiar skill and talent; we may cite as an example, Joseph Levin, who engraved with great success on a diamond the arms of Frederic I. of Prussia. The preservation of this art is especially remarkable among the descendants of Israel, if we view it in connexion with the earlier period of their existence as a nation, when on

the King. On the whole, they were treated as inferior to the other inhabitants of the country, and the whole community was considered responsible for the crimes of its individual members. In Silesia the regulations were more or less the same. The successor of Frederic the Great endeavoured by new laws to effect a salutary change for both Jewish inhabitants and residents. But the laws themselves bear the stamp both of the fearfully degraded state of the Jewish population, and of the oppressive, exclusive, and repressive measures which were thought needful to the interest of that portion of the community. Since that time the prospects of the Jews, especially in Silesia, have much improved.

The general impression we receive of the position in which the Jews were to be found in the Prussian states, during the latter part

so memorable an occasion, and for so peculiar a purpose, the engraving of stones was practised by men of Israel. Exod. xxviii. 21. In general, it is interesting to mark the connexion subsisting between the arts and sciences mentioned in the Biblical history of the Israelites, and those still subsisting among their descendants of the dispersion. Thus, to the present day, they have continued to produce poets, singers, and musicians, but few painters and sculptors—not one who has attained any degree of eminence.

of the last century, is, on the whole, a melancholy one. The wretchedness and degradation of the multitude is even more remarkable when brought into contrast with the riches and splendour possessed by some few individuals. And yet, as the historian whom we have often quoted remarks, it is to the good-will and privileges obtained by these favoured few, that the amended position and the social and intellectual civilization of the German Jews owe their very existence.

The life of Moses Mendelsohn marks a very decisive period in the progress of science and literature among the German Jews, fruitful in results which were partly favourable and partly dangerous to his nation. His friends and admirers applied to his praise the well-known proverb, which has been already quoted to the honour of Maimonides,—“From Moses to Moses there arose not a Moses.” In truth, there were many points in common between the doctor and reformer of Cordova, and the philosopher and man of letters of Berlin, both in the bent of their minds and their views concerning the religion of their nation. It is from the time of Mendelsohn and his cotemporaries, disciples, and imitators, that we may date the beginning of a completely new rela-

tionship between the Jews and the people of Germany. We must delay a few minutes to trace the career of this remarkable man.

Mendelsohn was born in 1729, at Dersace, of poor parents. His father was a Hebrew calligrapher,—that is to say, a copier of the Bible and other writings in that language upon parchment. His son, who was of a weakly constitution, and rather deformed, gave early tokens of an intelligent and scrutinizing mind. Without any instruction he already in childhood made attempts to express himself in the Hebrew language and style, as well as in its poetry. Afterwards, when nearly thirteen, he had the Rabbi David Frankel as his master in the study of the Talmud. But even then, as well as afterwards, the writings of Maimonides, and especially the More Nevochim, were his favourite subjects of study. When hardly fourteen he was obliged to relinquish learning for the choice of a profession. He went to Berlin in search of employment, and there gained his scanty subsistence by following the occupation of copyist and corrector of the press, carefully making use of every leisure moment to learn the ancient languages and to gain instruction in general literature and philosophy. At that period he was under great obligations

to Rabbi Israel, a learned Jew, who had been persecuted by the synagogues of Poland on account of his opinions, as well as to Aaron Emmerich, a celebrated physician and Hebrew author. He afterwards became tutor to the children of a distinguished coreligionist, who, struck with the amiability of his character and the greatness of his talents, intrusted to him the whole management of his affairs. (1753.) In the intervals of business he published, in concert with his friend, Tobias Bock, some essays on natural philosophy, in Hebrew, for the use of young men who were studying the Talmud. This publication gave some offence to the Rabbins, and he escaped persecution only by his strict observance of the Oral Law, to which he undeviatingly submitted all the rest of his life, although his internal convictions were little in accordance with its practices. He soon became intimate with Lessing, Nicolai, and other learned and distinguished Germans, his letters and conversations with whom have since been published. By his *Phedon* in German (on the immortality of the soul) and several other metaphysical works, he soon acquired greater fame among Christians than among the Jews, both as a philosopher and a distinguished writer and literary character. He

also gained much esteem by the many amiable and honourable points in his character. Christians in heart, such as Lavater in particular, at one time flattered themselves with discerning in this celebrated Israelite a future confessor of Christ, founding their opinion on several expressions and views of Mendelsohn, in which the influence of Christianity could not fail to be recognised. He made haste to undeceive them in a courteous but decided letter which he addressed to the respectable pastor of Zurich ; he continued, meanwhile, his labours, not only as an author and man of letters, but also as a reformer, though acting with the greatest circumspection and moderation. He it was who, in 1778, composed the report which had been demanded by the King of Prussia, concerning some particular points of rabbinical jurisprudence, such as the right of succession, wills, &c. Soon after appeared his German version of the Books of Moses, the first chapters of which were accompanied by a commentary of his own, which was afterwards continued by two learned brethren ; one of these was the poet Hartwig Wessely, of whom we shall speak hereafter. The preface to this work, in which, with an ingenuity of mind that was his peculiar gift, he had been able to combine the views of a

philosopher with respect for the strictest profession of Judaism, gained for him the approbation of some of the most rigid teachers of the synagogue, and, among others, Rabbi Saul, of Frankfort. The work itself soon found its way into the principal synagogues and schools of Germany. The knowledge of German made, by this means, unheard of advance among the Jewish youth. Mendelsohn, thus encouraged, produced afterwards, with increasing success, a version of the Psalms and the Song of Solomon, which are considered classical.

It was in this especially that the philosopher kept up the striking resemblance to Maimonides, his celebrated predecessor and model. Both, under the outward forms of Rabbinical Judaism, desired to give an entirely new direction to the religion of the Jews, to reform it, to develop it; while both equally failed to recognise how the true perfection of revealed Judaism is to be found in true Christianity. Mendelsohn at last seized an opportunity of declaring more clearly (though always with a degree of vagueness) his own ideas on religion in answer to the then well-known treatise of the Councillor Dohm, "On the Amendment of the political Position of the Jews." The statesman

in his work had started from the principle that every amendment must proceed from liberty and equality of rights in society bestowed upon the Jew,—from an entire reform in the systems of instruction and education,—from free admission to the practice of all arts and sciences, and even a participation in some posts and offices of State,—the authority of the synagogue over its members to be maintained, in cases of religious difference, by the power of casting them out of its bosom for a time or entirely. It was precisely on this last point, concerning the authority of the synagogue as acknowledged by Dohm, that Mendelsohn fired up. He would not allow the synagogue, or any other religious community, to impose any restriction whatever on the rights of thinking and teaching.

In the preface to his German translation of Menasseh Ben Israel's "Hope of Israel," he plainly declared his conviction, "that every society had certainly the right to exclude its members when they ceased to conform to the principle of the society; but that this rule could not in any way apply to a religious society, whether church or synagogue, because true religion exerts no authority over ideas and opinions; but, being all heart and spirit, only

desires to use the power of conviction. Then, turning to his brethren of Israel, he exhorts them to take from the people among whom they live an example of charity, and not of hatred or intolerance, and to begin by loving and bearing with one another, that they might themselves be loved and tolerated by others."

In this remarkable and singular controversy of the Jewish philosopher there are two points worthy of note. First, that he could, while holding such sentiments, entirely conceal from himself the influence of Christianity over his own opinions, and believe himself, in all sincerity, an orthodox rabbinical Jew. In the second place, it is equally remarkable that, during all these discussions, the Rabbins should have kept completely aloof, and let pass so decisive a declaration as that of Mendelsohn, against all maintenance of order and discipline in the synagogue.

A solution of the latter point is probably to be found in a certain consciousness, on the part of the synagogue, of want of strength to cope with one of its most influential members on the grounds of a social and philosophical question. It must have appeared the safer and more prudent part to rest satisfied with the obedi-

ence which Mendelsohn at all times paid to its outward ordinances. Soon, however, it began to experience the effects produced by his influence and writings on a large portion of the German Jews, among whom, from that time forward, all respect for the Talmud began gradually to decline. As for Mendelsohn himself, the contrast between his practice as a rabbinical Jew and the principles he advocated in the preface we have just quoted, could not fail of exciting the attention both of the Christian and Jewish biographers of this illustrious man. In a "Letter to Mendelsohn"** the inconsistency was openly noticed between his conscientious attachment to Rabbinism and his opinions on the subject of religion, so evidently borrowed from Christianity. To this attack he replied by his "Jerusalem; or, a Treatise on Authority in matters of Religion and Judaism;" a work written with remarkable talent, but which, on the whole, served to show forth yet more forcibly the incompatibility of his theory and practice, and even of his own theory with itself. According to his view, religion consists in the disposition of the heart,—and that is not under the control of any power or discipline exercised by a church or synagogue.

* Jost ix. 76—79.

At the same time he asserts, that the law of Moses (the law equally of Church and State) was not a law of faith, but of statutes and prohibitions. How, then, could he deny to the synagogue the right of condemning and excluding those who should refuse to observe that law which he himself, both in theory and practice, acknowledged to be binding upon every Israelite? The most zealous admirers of Mendelsohn have had great difficulty in clearing him from this inconsistency, and have even been compelled to acknowledge it, at the same time excusing him, by supposing that he wished to prove by his own conduct, that the most complete liberty of opinion might be allied to the strictest observance of the law, of which, however, he wished the spiritual interpretation to be left to the individual conviction of every Jew. The true key to this apparent contradiction is, perhaps, simply this: inwardly, in the soul of Mendelsohn, the attractive force of Christian principle exercised its power, and against this attractive force he thought to find a defence in the strict observance of rabbinical precepts, having, however, never attained to the very essence of the Christian religion, which is not to be found in the doctrine alone, but in the person of Jesus Christ.

Whatever may have caused the inward struggles of the philosopher of Berlin, it is certain that, without wishing or suspecting it, Mendelsohn—as, six centuries earlier, Maimonides—stirred up among his coreligionists a feeling of void that nothing but the Gospel of the Son of God could satisfy, which, through the mercy of the God of Abraham, was made effectual to many after the time of Mendelsohn.

It is worthy of remark, that, among Jewish confessors that Jesus is the Christ, in later years we find a grandson of this celebrated philosopher, the highly-famed musical composer, Mendelsohn Bartholdy, who not only devoted his art to set forth some of the sublimest passages in the Old and New Testaments, but also felt in his own soul the power of that Christian faith of which he had made open profession. Moses Mendelsohn died at the beginning of the year 1786, while employed in a controversy in which he was engaged, together with Jacobi, against Lessing, the friend of the latter, and the doctrines of Spinoza, which he was suspected of holding. He was universally regretted, as well by his own nation as by the Germans. To the liberal party among the Jews of that

country, Mendelsohn had opened, as it were, a new field, both in religion and literature. The German Jews, however, at that time could boast of other men of science and talent besides Mendelsohn, who also exercised considerable influence over the succeeding generation. Among the most interesting of his brethren and cotemporaries, we may mention his three intimate friends, Hartwig Wessely, Isaac Euchel, and David Friedlander. Hartwig Wessely was the grandson of a certain Rabbi Joseph, who, having escaped from the massacre by the Cossacks at Bar, in Podolia, in 1648, came to establish himself at Amsterdam, and, as it appears, connected himself with the Portuguese synagogue of that city. One of his sons, named Moses, settled at Wesel (from which place they took the surname of Wessely), and afterwards at Gluckstadt, where he established a manufactory of fire-arms. This was the father of the learned and talented Hartwig who early acquired several modern languages, but excelled chiefly in the knowledge of ancient Hebrew. From his earliest childhood he spared no pains either in the attainment or the diffusion of this branch of learning. Placed in Amsterdam as clerk in a house of business, he

employed his leisure hours in collecting his "Proverbs of the Fathers," and in composing his valuable work on "Hebrew Synonyms," now well known and highly appreciated by the Jews of Germany, Poland, and Italy. He published the first edition at his own expense. At Hamburgh, also, where he married in 1770, he passed the day in labouring for a subsistence, and the night at his favourite studies. He went to Berlin after the year 1775, and there wrote his Hebrew translation of the Book of Wisdom. Soon after, he was for a time reduced to complete poverty by misfortunes in business, from which, however, he was shortly rescued by his literary activity, and the faithful kindness of his friends. It was at this time that he formed an intimate acquaintance with Mendelsohn, with whom, as we have before seen, he afterwards laboured in concert; he also shared in the same strict observance of the rabbinical precepts (though in an entirely different spirit from that of the philosophers), being actuated by an enthusiastic and heartfelt conviction of the binding authority of tradition. His good understanding with the Rabbins was, nevertheless, for a time interrupted, because, when the Edict of Toleration had been promulgated by the

Emperor Joseph, he published an address to the synagogue of Trieste, in which he urged the necessity of a reformation in a system of early instruction, by which the study of the Talmud should be deferred to a riper age. The Rabbins of Poland, in consequence, attacked and anathematized him with vehemence; those of Trieste, Venice, Ferrara, and Reggio, on the contrary, supported him, declaring that the opinion he had expressed was for the advantage of the synagogue. From that time forward he more than ever persisted, both in observing strictly Jewish customs and in making strenuous efforts for the enlightenment and reformation of his people. He afterwards especially distinguished himself as a Hebrew poet, both by his lyrical pieces, his elegy on the death of Prince Leopold of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, his panegyric on the Emperor Joseph, and his heroic poem of Moses, of which only the four first parts were published during his lifetime. He died at Hamburgh, in 1808, in the eightieth year of his age. Hartwig Wessely may be considered the founder of modern Hebrew literature, in the same way as Mendelsohn was of German literature among the Jews of his age and country.

Isaac Euchel, who was born in 1756, and ranks far higher than Mendelsohn, and equally high with Hartwig, in Oriental literature, was the first to undertake a translation of the Jewish Liturgy into German. This translation, though not well executed, was nevertheless very useful, as an example for others. Euchel wrote a translation and Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon for the use of the Jews; he also wrote in Hebrew a biography of his friend, Moses Mendelsohn. Like Hartwig, this clever and talented author was obliged to support himself by trade till the time of his death, which happened in the fourth year of this century.

David Friedlander was the third of those friends of Mendelsohn who, by their indefatigable activity and valuable works, acquired a name among their brethren and cotemporaries in Germany. He was born at Konigsburg, in 1750, and settled, in 1780, at Berlin, where he married a young lady of the highly respected family of Itzig, and lived in society with the most distinguished persons of his age, both Christians and Jews, without ever losing sight of the main object he had in view, viz., to seek the improvement of his nation by every means in his power. With

this view, he translated several German classical works into Hebrew, and several portions of the Old Testament into German. He also made a translation of the synagogue prayers in a better style than that of Euchel, and by the establishment of schools for the poor he conferred a benefit which long survived him.

Always active, sometimes too precipitate in his zeal for a true and thorough reform of the Judaism of his age, he wrote (in 1790) his "Letters from Jewish Householders to the Provost Teller," which elicited several replies from Christians, but mostly of the Neologian school. The religion of Friedlander himself was far removed from any tendency to Neology. Though he had opposed with vigour various prejudices and abuses among his own people, he was, nevertheless, a rigid Talmudist both in his doctrine and practice. No one could regret more than he did the reaction which had already begun to manifest itself, and to lead many of those Jews who had cast aside the fetters of Rabbinism into the opposite extreme of worldliness, frivolity, and even complete Infidelity. To an advanced old age (for Friedlander was still alive in 1828), he ceased not to labour in the cause of his people

in the different relations in which he was placed, or to which he had been called. Other contemporaries of Mendelsohn among the German Jews deserve some mention here: among them were, the editors of a Hebrew journal, in 1783, in which Samuel and Dr. Michel Friedlander, both relatives of David, were joint labourers; Joel Löwe, afterwards Professor at the Jewish Wilhelm School, of Breslau; Isaac Satrow; and Jehuda Lob Ben Seff, known by their Hebrew grammatical works, and others of the same kind. Dr. Marcus Herz, celebrated for his knowledge of medicine and natural philosophy, had already distinguished himself in his youth by a dissertation on speculative philosophy in imitation of Kant. Dr. Bloch was a naturalist, and author of a valuable work on ichthyology; his specimens of natural history were afterwards placed in the museum of Berlin. Salomon Maimon, also a philosopher, but especially learned in mathematics and natural history; he was a decided adversary of Rabbinism, and both in word and deed zealously advocated the introduction of a new system of instruction for Jewish youth.

Conversions from the synagogue to the faith of the Church had occurred from time

to time during the period between the Reformation and the commencement of the revolutionary era, though in number and importance they will bear no comparison with what we have related in the history of the Sephardim during the Middle Ages. We have already mentioned several remarkable conversions after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. It is a curious fact, that in the Netherlands some members of Judeo-Spanish families continued in secret Roman Catholics, in the same manner as in Spain many had held the Jewish religion under an outward conformity with the Roman Catholic Church. These concealed Roman Catholics took the earliest opportunity of returning to Spain, or settling in Belgium. In Italy, during the course of the sixteenth century, we find among the distinguished men of learning Paulo Ricci, formerly a Rabbi and physician, Jerome of Bologna, and Aquilino. Conversions to the Evangelical or Reformed Churches were most frequent in Germany, though in Holland also we find some interesting examples during the seventeenth, and especially the eighteenth, century. Two Israelites, Aaron Margalitz, and Joseph Jacob, converted to Christianity, caused their former coreligionists

much trouble, by bringing forward an accusation of blasphemy against many of their books, and, among others, the Jewish Liturgy. Even at that time, as well as during the Middle Ages, the Jew, when converted to the Christian faith, ranged himself rather as the adversary of his former coreligionists, than in the spirit of the Apostle Paul. (Rom. xi. 1.) Among the conversions to the Gospel, of which the results have been most cheering, was (in 1595) that of the Imperial Physician, Paulus Werdnerus, whose public defence of Christianity must have brought conviction to many Jews. About a century later, a Rabbi, named Frederic Ragstadt of Weile, was baptized at Cleves in the faith of the Reformed Church, and his conversion and public confession of the Divine truths of Christianity were not less remarkable. Shortly after his baptism, when scarcely twenty-three years of age, he published a Latin apology (1671), in which the name of the Messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ, was gloriously maintained against the abominable Nizzochen of the famous Rabbi Lipmann. Weile, who was afterwards pastor of a Reformed Church at Spyk, near Gorcum, in South Holland, published a sermon in the language of the

country, upon occasion of the baptism of a distinguished Portuguese Jew, named Aaron Rodrigues Faro, in 1686. Two brothers of the family of Da Fonseca were soon after converts from the same Portuguese community of Amsterdam, and they also published in writing their reasons for a change of faith. Thus was there at all times an accomplishment of the word of St. Paul : " Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace." (Rom. xi. 5.) The period upon which we shall now enter has produced far more numerous and striking instances of the fulfilment of this Divine declaration.

To the Jews also, as well as to all the nations of Europe, was the year 1789 the commencement of an entirely new epoch ; an epoch of improvement according to the views of one party, and of revolution and anarchy according to those of another, but certainly in the eyes of the Christian a period of striking signs and movements, in which he cannot fail to recognise at once the hand of God, and the approach of that day which He has foretold. In the period of sixty years now unfolded before us, the social position of the synagogue, but more especially its internal organization, underwent a more essential and significant change

than any that had taken place since the first centuries of their dispersion after the fall of Jerusalem. Behold ! in this new period, the dispersed of Israel rising to cast off their own ancient nationality, and desiring in all respects (except abandoning the religion of their ancestors) to be reckoned fellow-countrymen with the Christian nations, and thus possess a country of their own without the borders of Palestine. The spirit of the age (under the guidance of Him who maketh the good and evil of man to work together in his service) effected this movement, in concert with the theories of the day concerning the origin of society and states, the rights of men and citizens, the relation between sovereigns and their people ; principles concerning which a combat began in the eighteenth century, and has continued to develop itself on all sides during our nineteenth century. Two of the great European countries are experiencing, at this very moment, the following out of these principles, and the effects of this combat in a different and characteristic form. France first gave an example of the practical application of these new ideas by violence, and she has thus diffused them both at home and abroad. In Germany the same principles were admitted,

but not without some resistance; in that country especially, a long struggle was preparing between the institutions and the results of *many* centuries, and the claims of *one single* century—*our own*. The contest between history and revolution, between the ancient order of things and the new lights, concerning the Jews and their position in society, also began with the year 1789 in France. Two years before, the Academy of Metz had convened an assembly to consider the best means of making the Jews more useful and happier. One of the prize essays on that occasion was written by the Abbé Grégoire; another essay had been presented by a Polish Jew of great talent, named Salkind Horwitz, a successor of Pereira as Librarian of the Royal Library at Paris. The revolution which shortly after took place triumphantly decided the question, as to what position in society the Jews should fill. The Jews of Lunéville and Sarquemines first presented an address to the National Assembly, requesting to be put in possession of those rights which the new state of things had secured to them. The Portuguese Jews of Bordeaux, who had already taken an active part in the movement in that town, also requested, through the intervention of Gré-

goire, in behalf of themselves and brethren in the countries of the Rhine, an application of the new principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality. The Jews of Lorraine sued for the same act of justice, not without making bitter complaints of the treatment they had endured for many centuries; they only desired the maintenance of their ancient synagogue, and a sufficient degree of judicial power to preserve it from irreligion. Those of Paris, on the contrary, wished for the suppression of all jurisdiction in the synagogue. In the year 1791 complete equality was proclaimed for all Jews, without exception or distinction, who would accept the rights of a French citizen, upon condition of fulfilling the duties attached to them.

The reign of Napoleon confirmed what the revolution had effected in favour of the Jews; and the liberal party among them in France has always testified its gratitude to that emperor. He only showed severity towards the Jewish population in the provinces of the Rhine, where they had long been in ill repute on account of their usury. An Imperial edict was in consequence published in 1808, imposing on every Jewish creditor who should go to law against a debtor the obligation to,

procure a certificate of good conduct, attested by the local authorities, declaring that the said creditor was not in the practice of taking usury, or pursuing any disgraceful traffic. The Imperial Government, conscious of the severity of a measure by which it hoped in a short time to do away with this abuse, limited the continuance of the decree to a period of ten years. This law was revoked in France directly after the restoration of the Bourbon family; in the Rhenish provinces, which were restored to Germany, it remained in force till the end of the ten years. In some of the provinces, such as Rhenish Bavaria and Rhenish Prussia, it was even continued and strictly enforced after that period. Napoleon, desiring, as we have said, to confirm what the Revolution of 1789 had effected for the Jews, convoked at Paris a large assemblage (Sanhedrim, or Synedrion) of Israelites, distinguished either by their learning or their rank. His object in forming this association was the establishment of certain principles among the Jews themselves, to lay the foundation, both of a new internal organization of the synagogue, and for the advancement and regulation of the new rights acquired by the Jews in all the different countries under

the dominion, or immediate influence of the Emperor. It was on the 28th of July, in the year 1806, (by a mistake, upon the Sabbath-day,) that the French Sanhedrim began to sit, and nominated as President, Abraham Furtado, a distinguished Portuguese, of Bordeaux. Among the 110 members of this Assembly, we find many who, in a succeeding generation, and in very different circumstances, have acquired a reputation throughout Europe ; among them were Rodrigues, Avigdor, Cerf-Ber, Cologna, Crémieux Anschel, Goudchaux, and others. This assembly being constituted by order of the Emperor, three Imperial Commissioners, Molé, Portalis, and Pasquier, presented themselves during the sitting with twelve questions, to answer which was to be the first and principal occupation of the Sanhedrim. These questions related principally to the Jewish laws concerning marriage and polygamy—to their connexions with the countries in which they were settled, and especially with the French nation—to the subject of usury, both among the Jews themselves, and between Jews and Gentiles. After mature deliberation, the Assembly replied—that the Jew, though by the law of Moses he had permission to take several wives, was not allowed to make use of

this liberty in the West, an obligation to take only one wife having been imposed upon them in the year 1030, by an Assembly, over which Rabbi Gerson, of Worms, presided,—that no kind of divorce was allowed among the Jews, except what was authorized by the law of the country, and pronounced judicially,—that the Jews recognised not only Frenchmen, but all men as their brethren, without making any difference between the Jew and him who was not a Jew, from whom they differed not as a nation, but by their religion only. With respect to France, the Jew, who had there been rescued from oppression, and allowed an equality of social rights, looked upon that country as more especially his *own*, of which he had already given manifest proof on the field of battle;—that since the revolution no kind of jurisdiction in France or Italy could control that of the Rabbins;—that the Jewish law forbade all taking of usury, either from strangers or their own brethren; that the commandment to lend to his Israelitish brother, without interest, was a precept of charity, which by no means detracted from the justice, or the necessity of a lawful interest in matters of commerce; finally, that the Jewish religion declared, without any distinction of persons,

that usury was disgraceful and infamous; but that the use of interest in mercantile affairs, without reference to religion or country, was legal,—to lend, without interest, out of pure charity towards all men, was praiseworthy.

The Imperial Government declared itself perfectly satisfied with the answers of the Sanhedrim. The spirit which dictated its replies is manifest; for while maintaining as a principal point the authority of the Mosaic law, they gave a plausible interpretation of the Talmudic principle; on the whole, it was evident that the decision of the Sanhedrim tended to set aside Jewish nationality; or, at least, to render it entirely subservient to the new civil and political rights. Since then, the relations between the Jews of France, and the other inhabitants of the country, have remained fixed upon these new principles. A second Sanhedrim was meanwhile convoked by the Emperor in the following year of 1807, to which Jews from other countries, and especially from Holland, were invited, that the principles laid down by the first Sanhedrim might acquire the force of law among the Jews in all parts. The second meeting, called the Great Sanhedrim, to which was committed the forming of a plan of organization for all

the synagogues in the empire, took place the following year, under the Presidentship of Rabbi Segre, of Vercelli. Beyond the borders of France, the principles set forth by the Sanhedrim found but a faint echo, and soon met with positive opposition, especially in Germany and Holland. In France the Jews have retained their social and political equality, notwithstanding the restoration of the Bourbons, and the different Governments which have since succeeded. The Jews of the so-called Liberal party had before long good reason to congratulate themselves on the consequences of these new institutions among their brethren and coreligionists. According to the statistic account given by the great Consistory at Paris, dated two years after the assembling of the Sanhedrim, out of a Jewish population of eighty thousand souls, there were in France one thousand two hundred and thirty-two landed proprietors, not including the owners of houses in towns, two thousand three hundred and sixty workmen, two hundred and fifty manufacturers, seven hundred and ninety-seven military men, among whom were officers of all ranks, and even as some say, Marshals of the empire, who were Jews, at least by birth. In 1830, the Minister of Public Wor-

ship, Mérilhou, declared, as the result of his experience, forty years after the emancipation of this before oppressed people, "that in the offices of State, under the French banner, in arts, sciences, and manufactures they had, during the quarter of a century, given ample refutation to the calumnies of their oppressors." We certainly cannot fail to acknowledge that the emancipation of the Jews in France was conducted on the most liberal scale, and carried out in the most complete manner; but, on the other hand, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that, in that country, not only the nationality, but also the religious principle of the Jew, has been swallowed up in the feelings and the movements of the age. From that want of religion which has unhappily formed a sad peculiarity of France in our days, the Jew in that country was best able to become a good Frenchman, because nowhere else could he so entirely cast aside the recollections and the religion of his fathers. Yet, even at the present time, in France, discussions are entered into upon the reformation and amendment of the form of worship, and concerning the relative merits of Hebrew, and the language of the country for the liturgy of the synagogue. In France, as well as Germany, theorists have

arisen, who have pretended to build upon the Mosaic code a new and universal religion, fitted to take the place of Christianity.* As for conversions to Christianity, but few have been made publicly known, though doubtless the Church of Rome has made proselytes of more or less note among the Jews of France,—to the Protestant Church there have been but few.

The revolution introduced by the French armies into the Republic of the Netherlands (1795), has also had the effect of producing by degrees a complete emancipation of the Jews. This emancipation was received and estimated very differently by the Jews of Holland than by those of France. The great majority of Jewish synagogues in the Netherlands, were upon principle opposed to revolutionary ideas. We have noticed in France Portuguese Jews placing themselves at the head of a movement, to obtain for their countrymen the benefits of the new institutions, without exception or restraint. In Holland, on the contrary, with some few exceptions, the Jews of Spain and Portugal, who were lovers of monarchy and aristocracy upon principle, and enthusiastically

* Of such was the learned Parisian, J. Salvador, author of the "Histoire de la Domination Romaine en Judée."

devoted to the House of Orange, cared not for a so-called emancipation, which was as little in accordance with their political attachment, as with their religious opinions. Even the Jews of the German and Polish synagogues of Holland were little disposed to exchange their ancient Israelitish nationality, for the new nationality offered to them by the revolution. Only a small number of individuals of both synagogues, by whom talent and energy was unquestionably displayed together with strong attachment to the spirit of the age, formed a kind of political association under the name of "Felix Libertate," for the advancement of the new opinions, and the maintenance of those rights which had in consequence been granted to their coreligionists. This difference of political opinions gave rise to a schism in the synagogue. The partisans of the new ideas assembled separately for their religious worship, and founded a synagogue, named Adath Jeshurun, which remained apart from the ancient (German) synagogue of the Netherlands till the reign of William I.

In the new Batavia Republic, founded in 1795, the opinions of the republicans themselves were divided concerning the political equality of the Jews. There were in them

many admirers of the Revolution of 1789 in France, and that of 1795 in Holland, who for all that did not cease to look upon the Christian religion as the foundation of the state, and who were retained by scruples of conscience from wishing for a complete naturalization of the Jews. Such, among others, was the pastor and Professor Van Hametsveld, a zealous republican, but at the same time, a Protestant by conviction, and a friend of Israel for the Gospel's sake, looking for the national conversion of the nation and their return to the land of their fathers. With these feelings, he gave his opinion against conceding to the Jews a right to vote in the National Assembly of the year 1796. The contrary opinion, however, supported by the citizen (afterwards Great Pensionary) Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, triumphed in the Assembly; and soon after, several Jewish members were admitted to the municipality and the tribunal of Amsterdam, as well as to the National Assembly at the Hague. Under the Government, first of Louis Napoleon, and then of the House of Orange, the Jews of Holland became reconciled by degrees to their new political rights. We have seen, however, that no great sympathy was felt in Holland with the Sanhedrim of Paris, to which the

Portuguese synagogue had never deputed any of its members. Only the synagogue of Adath Jeshurun sent three deputies ; Charles Asser, distinguished as a lawyer even after the restoration of the House of Orange ; the physician De Lemon, who was subsequently (in 1813) confined in the castle of Ham, on account of a supposed conspiracy against the Imperial Government ; and an eminent Polish mathematician, resident at Amsterdam, of the name of Littwak.

At the return of the House of Orange to Holland, and under the different constitutions of 1813, 1815, 1840, 1848, the principle of absolute equality among all the inhabitants in the sight of the law, and, therefore, of the followers of Moses, also remained unaltered. Consequently, we find to this day Jews here and there holding public situations as governors of towns, members of the judicial body, and of the National Representative Assembly. While, on one side, the unheard of prosperity of the Portuguese Jews has almost entirely disappeared in Holland, the new political position of the Israelites has given rise to a rapid progress,—not, however, yet to be compared with that of France and Germany during the last five-and-twenty years, but of which the reality

is evinced by the many that have attained celebrity, principally among those who belong to what are now called the Dutch Jews (formerly German). This synagogue produced, among others, a man, who, soon after the Revolution of 1795, gained great repute for legal science ; we mean Dr. Jonas Daniel Meyer, author of the "Institutions Judiciaires des principaux Pays de l'Europe," who died in 1808. The same synagogue may also boast among its physicians the Dr. Heilbron, author of several prize works, and Dr. Davids, known by his zealous efforts to introduce vaccination.

In Belgium, the equality of all religions, including that of the Jews, in the sight of the law, has been maintained since the first introduction of the principle, towards the close of the preceding century, till after the separation of that country from Holland (1830-39), thenceforward to the present time.

The new political position of the Jews in Europe, though constituting a fresh epoch in history, could not entirely break down the ancient barrier between the Jewish and Christian population. This barrier had a far deeper foundation than any purely human legislation. It rests upon so wide a difference of religion, that even absolute indifference on that point

has not been able entirely to break through it. It rests, also, on an essential difference of race and origin,—a difference which, even in these levelling days, is, nevertheless, in many ways clearly apparent. This, then, is the reason why the Christian, resting upon the Word of God, does not look for the disappearance of this “middle-wall of partition,” or for the amalgamation of Israel with the nations, but for the union of these two distinct portions of mankind in the faith and under the dominion of Christ. Human law, the law of the revolutions of this century, may undoubtedly command and effect a degree of equalization ; but historical traditions do not everywhere give way so rapidly and so entirely, as we have seen, at least apparently, in France. In Germany, for example, the entire emancipation of the Jews, which in France had been established, as it were, in a moment, had to struggle for more than thirty years before; even in connexion with the events of 1848, it could secure a triumph,—perhaps soon again to experience a reaction. We will now cast a glance over the history of this struggle, as bearing on the great question of Jewish emancipation in Germany.

Already, before the Revolution of 1789, we have noticed the measures taken by the

principal states of Germany to secure to the Jews some rights, and to amend their condition. What the Emperor Joseph II. undertook in his Austrian dominions, was carried out with far more beneficial results in Prussia by King Frederic William II., in 1787. The French Revolution, and the influence of the French Imperial Government, considerably aided the cause of the Jews throughout great part of Germany, especially in Westphalia, with its capital, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and in Prussia. The reign of King Frederic William III. assured to the Jews, by the edict published March 11, 1812, the right and title of Prussian citizens, with some conditions and restrictions.

When, with regard to the Jewish history of this period, we speak of social and political rights, we must, in Germany especially, carefully discriminate between the concession of such rights, and what is understood by full and complete emancipation. Until the year 1848, the political rights granted to the Jews were always so much restricted by exceptions and provisional regulations, that the ancient exclusion might well be said to be modified, though it still continued to form a part of the constitution. On this account, the Radical Jews,

especially during the last twenty years, have desired a complete emancipation. From the year 1813 to 1836, and again from that time to the present day, we may notice the equal advance made by this question of emancipation with the history of revolutionary principle in general. During this interval of thirty-five years, we may clearly distinguish two opposing periods : the period of reaction from the ideas of the Revolution during the reign of Napoleon (an epoch which reached its culminating point in 1820) ; and the period of revival for all revolutionary principles in 1830, of which we are still, in 1848-9, observing the subsequent spread throughout Europe.

The statesmen who, in 1814-15, undertook to reorganize Germany after the fall of the empire of Napoleon, laid it down as a first principle, that they must not disturb the existing order of things, the state in which affairs then stood being the result of the events which had occurred during the last forty years. The sixteenth article of the federal Act of the Germanic states, published on the 8th of June, 1815, imposed upon the Diet an obligation to take the necessary measures for advancing the social improvement of the Jews, and to obtain for, and secure to them, the

enjoyment of all civil rights, on condition of their fulfilling the duties connected with them. It is not astonishing that the execution of this project met with great obstacles on all sides. The Jews themselves did not, everywhere, appear prepared for the exercise of the rights and duties which their new position entailed. The prejudices of the Christian population against the nation (at once ancient and yet new) were deeply rooted. Lastly, the thirty-eight states of the Germanic body were, in many respects, very differently constituted from one another; their feelings and their former legislation for the Jews frequently presented a striking contrast. Great, for example, was the difference between the social position and the moral development of the Jews, in the Grand Duchies of Baden and Hesse, contrasted with their state in Hanover, where, to use the words of a historian, they were rather under the charge of the police than under that of the Government. When to this is added the various systems which sometimes obtained in the same Germanic state, according to the personal views of successive princes and ministers, it may be easily understood that the principle of equality of rights for the Jews encountered in Germany,

for more than thirty years, difficulties, to which only such a crisis as that of the year 1848 could possibly have put a term.

It was not merely in the monarchical states of Germany that a reaction against the rights acquired by the Jews during the revolution first manifested itself, for as early as 1814-15 the free towns of Frankfort, Lubeck, and Bremen, took measures to restrict and revoke the rights and privileges of their Jewish inhabitants. The Congress of Vienna, being informed of these encroachments on an acquired right, earnestly recommended the magistrates of the said towns by rescript to maintain intact the rights of all citizens. The two great Ministers, Prince Metternich on the part of Austria, and Prince Hardenberg on the part of Prussia, wrote to the free towns in the same strain. As to Metternich, who has since been reproached, with more or less justice, as the advocate of a political system of immutability, it is certain that, with respect to the Jews, he did not approve of the reaction, nor did he ever appear inimical to the Israelites as a people. Generally, and especially in Germany, this enmity is found to increase as we descend in the scale of society. As to Governments, they were, per-

haps, negligent, and comparatively even unjust, to the rights and petitions of the Jews in the interval between 1815 and 1848 ; but it cannot be denied that the Jewish communities owe great obligations to the measures and enactments of the same Governments, chiefly for their intellectual and scientific development. The severe studies imposed by the Government of Prussia, previous to admission into the Rabbinate, produced a great number of theologians, who are now eminently distinguished for their learning and refinement.

The first attacks against the Jews, at the epoch which I have particularized as that of the reaction, came from the bosom of the people, from the pens of the literary and the learned. Irritated by recalling what this nation had been, what it was, and what it appeared likely to be in the future, they loaded them with accusations, insults, and especially ridicule, to which their new social position but too often exposed them. Hatred and satire were redoubled when the Jews betrayed their sensibility to them ; for example, when Israel Jacobson (who, under Jerome Napoleon, in Westphalia, had laboured earnestly for the improvement of his core-

ligionists,) prevailed on the Government to prohibit a drama in which the Jews were covered with ridicule.

At the same time, the battle for Jewish emancipation was fought more seriously with the arms of political science, against the manifest desire that was felt to oppose the execution of the sixteenth article of the Treaty of Federation. The professor, Frederick Rühs, openly declared in a pamphlet his opinion that the admission of Jews to civil rights in Germany would be pernicious, in consideration of their existence as a nation, of the inherent and deeply-rooted vices of their characters, and of the very nature of their religion. Rühs, consequently, proposed to ensure to them only the protection of the State in the same manner as to foreigners. Fries, in his critique in "The Annals of Heidelberg" on the professor's pamphlet, went still farther, and deduced their perversity and stupidity from their father, Abraham. He enunciated as a principle the complete destruction of Judaism; that is to say, (excepting that he would have spared individual life,) he advocated the reproduction of those enactments of the Middle Ages which tended to purge Christendom of its Jewish population.

In the absence of such measures, he foretold that, in less than forty years, all Christians would be in a state of dependance on the Jews. In a like spirit, though, if possible, more violently, one Frederick, of Frankfort, published his opinion in an anonymous pamphlet. Many voices then arose in defence of the Jews; among themselves, Zimmeru, of Heidelberg, and Herz, of Frankfort; and among the Christians, Johan Ludwig Ewald de Carlsruhe and August Krämer, of Ratisbon. The Jewish historians themselves have remarked, that few or none of the Christian clergy took any part in these inimical attacks on Israel. The time for such men as Rector Schudt was no more. But while even some members of the Roman Catholic priesthood stood up in defence of the unfortunate Jews, a reformed rationalist theologian distinguished himself as the bitterest opponent of the admission of the Jews to any civil rights. The Professor Paulus, of Heidelberg, well known from the antiquated absurdities of his "Exegesis," in a pamphlet which he published in 1817, declared his opinions to the above effect. He desired the entire exclusion of the Jews, as such, from every political right, with the sole exception of such individuals as could

bring proof by witness, or other legal testimony, of personal capacity and worth. When, fourteen years later, in the discussion of this question, he stood forth as champion against the Jews, he encountered more formidable adversaries among the Israelites themselves than heretofore. These were Mr. Kreisenach, who undertook to reply to him, and Dr. Riesser, who for many years had warmly advocated the emancipation of his brethren, and who became, in 1848, a member of the Germanic Diet at Frankfort, which has since been annihilated. It was thus, during the period of reaction, from 1815—1830, the question concerning the emancipation of the Jews had considerably retrograded. Their exclusion from all magistracies, from any rank above that of a sub-altern in the army, from all professorships, &c., was the order of the day in the greater part of the German states. In some places they went even further. At Lubeck, as early as 1815, they had already concocted the design of no longer permitting the Jews to remain within the limits of their territory. This plan, as far as the precincts of the city were concerned, was carried into effect in 1819. In other places the excesses of the Middle Ages seemed likely to revive among the populace.

In some parts the old death-cry of "Hep! Hep!"* arose; the houses and possessions of the Jews were pillaged and demolished, as in Hamburg, where a similar outrage was repeated as lately as the year 1835.

But in the year 1830, fresh revolutionary movements arose in France, which spread afterwards over Europe, and influenced Germany more especially. The old tendency to a union of the German states, under an Imperial Government, which should be surrounded by revolutionary institutions, again revived. At this time a second, and even a third generation of the liberal Jews had arisen. Amongst them especially, the ideas of 1815 had developed themselves with an energy hitherto unknown. They were no longer the same men who in the beginning of the nineteenth century had felt themselves almost encumbered by their recently acquired rights, and who had been prevented making good their pretensions in the field of politics by the various prejudices of Jews and Christians. Now, on the contrary, united with "Young Germany" in a system of

* A cry, the origin and signification of which are still uncertain. Some have explained it to be the initials of the three words, *Hierosolyma est perdita*.

radical liberty, the new Judaism no longer enforced its claims to a complete emancipation on any other grounds than that of its forming an integral part, and a necessary consequence, of the universal change in the order of things. Those who were now for the emancipation, maintained that, if hitherto all efforts to organize for the Jews a limited and conditional equality in the states of Germany had failed, it was precisely on account of this limitation and these conditions that it had fallen to the ground. Then only could the Jewish nation fulfil its duty to Germany, and Germany be what it should be to its Jewish and Christian inhabitants, when, without any reserve or restriction whatever, liberty and equality should be equally insured to *all*.

In this question, which has been since then discussed by the press, in the cabinets of kings, and in the different assemblies in the states of Germany, opinion was divided into three distinct parties or views,— the Conservative party, the Historical school, and the Revolutionary party. The Conservative party, on this question, as on all others, would have preserved, at all risks, the existing order of things. The Historical school took history, and established right as a basis, and starting

from this point, strove to obtain in a Christian and anti-revolutionary spirit such progress, improvements, and amendments as were suitable to the necessities of the age. Lastly, the Revolutionary party, indifferent to all rights, caring not for the history of the past, disregarding religion and revelation, especially as connected with social institutions, desired the reformation of society and of Judaism, even though it should entail the entire submersion of the present state of things.

Such a submersion in particular, with respect to Judaism, was the favourite project of Bruno Bauer, famous for having supported the system of the equally celebrated David Frederick Strauss. In 1842, Bauer, who resembled such men as Voltaire and Fries in his unbelieving and infidel hatred, declared he wished not for the emancipation of the Jews, but for their entire destruction and extinction in a new race of pantheistical humanity. Against these absurd and impious theories, many champions appeared amongst the Jews, partly to defend their nation against the contempt which the implacable enemy of both Jews and Christians cast upon it, partly to expose his numerous errors and follies with respect to their rights, history, and all their social rela-

tions. But, while learned Israelites, such as Dr. Philippson, Hirsh, Holdheim, Freund, and Salomon, opposed the weight of their various opinions to Bauer, there were some Jews who took part in his pantheistical radicalism. Jews who had long been weary of the religion of their fathers were glad to shake off the remembrance of their birth, and to discard the remains of their former religious ideas. It was in virtue of such a principle, as it appears, that the celebrated Ludwig Borne, who died in 1832, left the Judaism in which he was born, and which he had defended, in the year 1819, against unworthy persecution with equal spirit and energy. He submitted to baptism not as an open profession of Christianity, but as a means of doing away with all religious differences among the inhabitants of the German states. About the same period lived and wrote one of the most gifted of the women of Germany, the celebrated Rahel, the wife of the Baron of Varnhagen. It was she who, in the bitterness of her heart at the contempt with which her nation was treated by all other nations, declared one day, in the midst of the brilliant and pantheistical circle to which she belonged, that she submitted to her fate in having been born a Jewess in the

same spirit that one submits to an illness, or resigns oneself to a misfortune.

As to the school or system called "the Historic," we must observe, that even those Jews * who were enthusiastic in their desire for emancipation did justice to the stability of this Christian party. What, in fact, could exhibit more true consistency in the Christian man than his unwillingness either to co-operate in the extinction of the ancient nationality of the Jews, or, on the other hand, to commit legislative and judicial powers in a Christian state to men who were by profession adversaries of Christianity? It was in this spirit of the Historical school that the King of Prussia declared himself, in the year 1847, when, after the great National Assembly for that year, in which the emancipation of the Jews was discussed and rejected, he published his edict of the 23rd of July. This edict, similarly to that of 1812, secured to his Jewish subjects throughout the kingdom an equality of rights and duties, with some important exceptions, founded especially upon the incompatibility of their emancipation, or absolute equality with the well-being of a Christian state.

* Jost, Neuere Geschichte der Israeliten. Ersten Abtheilung.—P. 44.

The events which soon followed are yet recent in the memory of all. The shock endured and communicated by France on the 24th February, 1848, caused, in Germany, the explosion of those designs, theories, and conspiracies which had been long before prepared. It is known that the emancipation of the Jews was effected, in its full extent, by the revolutionary principle, simultaneously with the entire dissolution, if we may so express it, of ancient Germany. The great part taken by the liberal Jews of all kinds in the recent changes and movements in Bohemia and Hungary is also well known. Many of the most decidedly Radical and revolutionary newspapers were edited by Jews both in Prussia and Austria. Many Israelites holding ultra-radical views sat in the German Diet at Frankfort, and in that of Prussia at Berlin. Among the deputies to Frankfort were, besides Dr. Riesser, whom we have already mentioned, Dr. Veit, Cohen, Hartmann, Karanda of Prague, and other Israelites. One of the most violent members of the Left in the Prussian Chamber, after the events of 1848, was Jacobi, also a Jew. Dr. Jellinck, who, with Dr. Becher, was shot at Vienna on the 20th of November, was descended from the same

nation which, under so many different dispensations, has so often obstinately mistaken its path of duty.

It is not only among the journalists and the radical politicians of the time that we meet with new symptoms of life and energy among the Jews. We cannot disallow that during the thirty years' crisis which we have just sketched, great talents and extensive resources of the most varied and opposite tendency have been displayed by Israelites in the different departments of European civilization. It is no longer exclusively in a financial capacity that the Jews of the present day have earned distinction. They have almost everywhere, in these times, earned fame in positions and vocations from which for many centuries they had been debarred. In Germany and in Poland, as well as in France, since the changes of 1789, the Israelite has proved his capacity for the profession of arms, and has frequently maintained the honour of his warlike descent from his ancestors of Palestine. Already, towards the close of the preceding century, a body of Jewish volunteers had been formed under the banner of Koscinzko, whose chief, Berek, after having earned many marks of honour in the war of independence, lost his

life in battle.. During the war for German liberty, from 1813—1815, not less than 1,700 Israelites fought in the service of Austria alone. Thirty-five officers of that nation fell gloriously on the field of Waterloo, and great were also the services rendered by Jewish physicians and surgeons on this occasion. It was so much the more made a matter of complaint afterwards by the German Jews, against the system of reaction, that they were either entirely excluded from military service, or, as we have already said, confined to the rank of subalterns. Meanwhile, great was the progress made by them in Germany in the paths of science and literature. In medicine, astronomy, and mathematics, they equalled and, in proportion to the progress of science during so many centuries, surpassed the great models of their nation in Spain during the Middle Ages. Doctors and professors who are by descent, by birth, and even by actual profession, Israelites, have during the last thirty years excelled in every branch of knowledge. Rabbinical theology, in consequence of the severe studies exacted by the Government, assumed from that period a scientific character. The Arabic, as well as the Hebraic and Chaldaic languages and literature, have been cultivated by the

German Jews with success and celebrity. Numerous poets have arisen, who have followed Hartwig in enriching modern Hebrew poetry by their remarkable productions. But also in the language of Goethe and Schiller, many Israelites in Germany have spoken with the voice of talent in poetry and prose. In the art of Haydn and of Mozart, of Beethoven and of Weber, they fill the highest ranks; nor have painters been wanting among them during the period we are reviewing. In a word, the Israelites of the dispersion have for the last two generations presented an entirely new phase of existence in Germany.

And now, what does the Christian think,— how does he feel when he contemplates this novel and complete change in the destiny of Israel? The Christian, attached to the Gospel of Christ, who believes alike in the judgments and promises of God with respect to the descendants of Abraham, cannot but experience a mixed feeling. He will certainly be interested in all that in Israel is characteristic of the dawning of regeneration; but at the same time, how shall he not be moved with grief, whenever he beholds the talents and the efforts of the Israelite of the present day employed to attack and undermine religion

and social order, employed in the destruction at once of Judaism and Christianity, in the service, to sum up all, of infidelity and rebellion ! But yet he will not pause at these first and transient results. Beyond all the horror of these phenomena he sees the advent of a period when these same renewed efforts and these same talents will be consecrated to the service of the Gospel, which was formerly to them a "stumbling-block," and which is now to them more than ever "foolishness," but which, nevertheless, in our days has become unto several among them "the power of God unto salvation." In this way the heart of the Christian may rejoice in hope at all these different movements giving proof of life and progress, considering them to be the "shaking of the bones," which, according to the Prophet Ezekiel (chap. xxxvii. 7) should precede the resurrection of Israel.

Let us pause for a moment, to consider the influence of the movements of which we have just spoken on Judaism as a religion, and on its ancient strongholds. We have already more than once remarked, that not only the nationality but also the religion of the Jews languishes and declines in the same proportion in which real or even pseudo-civilization

spreads amongst them, or in the world in general. The doctrines of Pharisaic Judaism have not, it is true, entirely disappeared in the synagogues; the institutions of their ancestors find sectaries and defenders not merely among the vulgar, but even in the body of learned and scientific Rabbins. The old idea of a personal advent is still cherished by many in the bosom of the synagogue; nevertheless, it is an incontestable fact that the Talmud is losing its authority from day to day, and that, in these latter times, it is more esteemed for the light it throws on the history, language, and laws of the past, than as a code of Divine authority for the dispersed children of Israel. Meanwhile the tendency is becoming more and more general to replace all that was peculiar to the religious worship of the Hebrews, by ceremonies and usages borrowed from the Christians. For example, in 1814, for the first time, a sermon was preached in the German language, in the synagogue at Vienna. At Berlin, also, the banker Jacobson lent his efforts to found a Jewish worship of a completely modern form. The example was soon followed at Hamburg, where the service was managed by Drs. Kley and Salomon, who preached in German, and by the

additional innovation of an organ altered the old forms. The change was naturally not merely an exterior one. The spirit of the age affected the essentials of the Jewish religion, in a way that had been foretold and feared by the first authors of the new civilization, such as Friedlander and his friends. Deism and Rationalism followed in the synagogue nearly the same course as in the Christian Churches and schools. In the synagogue as in the Church all that was national and Israelitish, all that was supernatural and beyond the reach of unassisted human reason, was furiously attacked and rejected. In Bavaria, as well as in other places, Neology in the synagogue gave rise to so much uneasiness that the Government believed itself justified in interfering, in 1838-39, by decrees to the following effect,—that no one should be eligible to the Rabbinate, excepting the followers of the ancient religion of Moses, in contradistinction to modern Judaism. Soon after, the reigning spirit of Neology made such rapid progress that a *reformation*, according to the ideas of the age, meant nothing less than an entire *abolition*. This idea, in spite of the false protestations of not wishing the destruction but merely the reparation of the edifice, was pretty

openly proclaimed in a circular by Dr. Goldschmidt, at Frankfort, in 1843, in which is found the following declaration (a declaration which bears some resemblance to the cry of the Israelites in the day of the crucifixion of Jesus):—“ We neither look for nor desire a Messiah who shall lead the Israelites back to Palestine; we know no other country than that of our birth, to which we politically belong.” In another assembly of Jewish reformers of this stamp, it was said that the idea of a Messiah was still cherished, not as a personage whose advent was desirable for, and of importance to, Israel, but only as a figure of speech, expressive of the progress of the whole human race. Still later, they proposed, as a means of preparation for the fusion of Judaism and Christianity, henceforth to set apart Sunday instead of the Sabbath. In return for this concession, Wislicenus, the minister of the famous “ Friends of Light,” in Germany, in one of their meetings, in answer to the Israelite Benfey, declared such Jews as should wish to become members of their religious society exempted from the necessity of being baptized.

While thus Mosaic as well as Talmudic Judaism seemed on the verge of extinction in

a philosophical and social pantheism, God, who in all times causes even the wickedness of man to avail in forwarding his Divine purposes, made use in our day of this increased communication between Jews and Christians, to lead several of his ancient people to the knowledge and confession of the Gospel, and to assemble here and there the first-fruits of this great harvest, of which the season is approaching amidst the manifold signs of the times. Those who have gone over to the Protestant Churches from the synagogue have been more numerous during these few last years in Germany than they ever were elsewhere or before. Amongst a multitude of Israelites who have doubtless been led by very different views to receive baptism, a remarkable number have distinguished themselves by the sincerity of their profession, having devoted the talents received from God either to the preaching of his Word far and near, or to Christian science in the different walks of education, and other social duties. The number of Jews baptized in Germany during the last twenty years is estimated at five thousand.

We have rapidly retraced the movements connected with Israel in France, the Netherlands, and Germany. During this period the

cause of the absolute political emancipation of the Jews was also progressing in Great Britain. In this kingdom the spirit of the age walks with less hasty but more sure and certain steps. Liberal ideas and institutions, using the word indifferently in its good and evil sense, have extended their influence in England as well as on the Continent; not indeed by sudden revolutions, but by means of lawful measures, tending to the same end, which, though conceded by the upper to the lower classes, are often forced as matters of necessity on the Government of the country and on the Houses of Parliament by the continuous action of public opinion. As to the great question of the political rights of the Jews in England, their more limited number and smaller scientific influence in this country, compared with the same in Germany, has perhaps given a more or less peculiar character to the progress of their emancipation in the three kingdoms. Nevertheless, in the decision of this question England has only just stopped short of the repeal of its ancient laws and usages relative to Israel. The Jews, already in possession of the right of voting, and eligible for the duties of the municipal magistracy (having in our time served as aldermen),

are still, however, at this present moment, excluded from a seat in Parliament, but the election of the Baron Lionel Rothschild has led to the proposal of a law by Lord John Russell, Prime Minister, to change the form of the oath. This bill, passed by the House of Commons, but thrown out by a majority in the House of Lords, will probably, sooner or later, again be brought forward and passed, from the influence of public opinion, as displayed by the recent re-election of the Israelitish Baron. Here again the Christian, doubtless, from his reverence for the religious institutions of the State, from the value also which he attaches to the distinct nationality of the Jews, cannot fail to oppose and raise his voice against such a measure; but, at the same time, when it shall have passed into a law, he will be resigned, and will even rejoice. He will see the unfolding of the purposes of God, that, even in that separation of Church and State which seems on all sides hanging over the Christian world, and which forms but a part of the great process of dissolution, soon to be followed by an entirely new state of things, under a new dispensation, in the kingdom of God. It is thus that even the political emancipation of the Jews becomes, when con-

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nected with the other signs of the times, in itself a positive mark that "old things" are passing away, and that "new things" are about to appear, although in a very different sense to that in which the spirit of the age rejoices. Of England we must also observe, in conclusion, that the propagation of an irreligious liberality on the one hand is there accompanied on the other by a remarkable spread of the Gospel amongst the seed of Abraham, to whom it is diligently made known. In Great Britain, as in Germany, Jews who have received baptism are numerous; amongst them are several labourers for Christ, ministers as well as missionaries. Alexander, the first Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, established there by the co-operation of the Sovereigns of England and Prussia, was an Israelite, a native of Germany, and for a long time one of the Professors of an English university.

We must now glance at the condition of the Jews in the principal remaining European countries—Protestant and Roman Catholic, Greek and Mahomedan. Among the last mentioned we shall find, even in Asia, that the effects of the movement of the latter days are sensibly visible in the position of the Jews,

although there it has been less rapid and vigorous.

In Sweden and in Norway, the movement, considered in relation to the Israelites, would not appear less remarkable than in Germany, France, or England, if their number in these kingdoms, united under the sceptre of Oscar, had not been so limited. In a population of four millions there are but eight hundred and fifty Jews, and yet in favour of these few Israelites, in 1848, at Stockholm, they discussed the propriety of introducing a bill of emancipation. Some time before, a popular poet of Norway, named Wergeland, had devoted his whole life to procure the abrogation of the ancient law, according to which no Jew could settle in the country without the express permission of the King. The Jewish community in the capital of Sweden has expressed its gratitude for this benevolent zeal, by the erection of a monument in honour of the poet, cast in the foundry of an Israelite after the model of an artist of the same race. In Denmark, where (from 1738) the German and Portuguese Jews had already obtained a considerable augmentation of their privileges, a royal edict of the 29th of May, 1814, contributed much to the amelioration of their social

position and internal administration of their synagogues; this principally in the spirit of the Jewish-German Reformation of modern times,—their absolute emancipation has not, up to the present day, been achieved in any of the Scandinavian countries.

In Roman Catholic lands, in the same manner as in French and German territories, these latter days have brought about several remarkable changes in the relations of the Jews to governments, legislation, and populace. Already, before the year 1848, Pope Pius IX. set an example of liberality, by his regulations in favour of the Jewish subjects of the Church. The Ghetto of the Jews at Rome was solemnly opened in the evening of the 17th of April, 1847, as if to proclaim the principle that henceforth the wall of separation between the Jewish quarter and the city of Rome was thrown down. A similar opening of the Ghetto had already taken place in the time of the first French revolution, and under the Empire; but after the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty and system, in 1814-15, the Jews had signally lost ground. As formerly, so again, four elders of the synagogue were obliged humbly and solemnly to supplicate the Pope annually in public, to

grant them permission as a nation to reside in the capital of the Roman Catholic world. Pius IX. put an end to this state of things by a toleration which, some say, was so comprehensive, that, in re-establishing the ancient Order of Virtue and Merit instituted by Pius IV., he actually substituted a *star* for the *cross* formerly worn. The same year Charles Albert also conceded, from his headquarters at Voghera, full political rights to his Jewish subjects. Even the Duke of Modena permitted, in his states, the first publication of a monthly periodical by the Jews. We have already remarked, on a previous occasion, on the position of the Israelites relative to the governments of Spain and Portugal, we shall now only subjoin a curious fact, that in Spain, where the laws do not yet openly sanction the residence of the exiles of 1492, the Grand Cross of the Order of Isabella the Catholic has been presented to a German Jew, a banker; while in Portugal, an English baronet, also by birth and religion a German Jew, possesses a noble estate, and bears the title attached to it.

In Slavonic countries, where Roman Catholicism prevails, as well as in Russia, where the Greek Church is supreme, the social con-

dition of the Jews varies with the locality. In Poland their political and religious tendency is somewhat of a conservative character, (worldly interests having effected this bias,) although since Koscinzko there have not been wanting among them warm partisans of Polish independence. We may add, that in all that is, or rather was, Polish territory, the Jewish population is extremely numerous. In Cracow there is one Israelite to every eleven inhabitants. Russia, since the accession of its Polish provinces, numbers not less than 1,120,000 Jews amongst its sixty-three millions, a proportion nearly equal to that of the Netherlands. The treatment experienced by the Jews is naturally less oppressive in the Polish provinces than in the Moscovite part. The system of the reigning Czar appears to bear a great, but not altogether wonderful, resemblance to that of the German Radicals, whose plan is not to receive the Jews into the national existence of the body of the people, but to absorb them, in extinguishing their nationality by means resembling those adopted in the Middle Ages by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. It is well known that the universal principle of the Russian Government tends to unite all its subjects, not merely under a

secular sway, but also under the ecclesiastical and patriarchal dominion of the Czar. It appears, however, that the severe measures adopted with this intention, in regard to the Jews in that empire, have been considerably softened during these last years, more especially since Sir Moses Montefiore's journey to Russia, undertaken with a view of inducing the Czar to look more favourably on his Israelitish subjects. However that may be, the oppressive measures of Russia have, according to some extraordinary accounts of the interior of this empire, produced in the last half-century much the same results as those brought about by the persecutions and forced conversions of Catholic Spain in the Middle Ages. It is said that the influence of Jews who continue to hold in private the faith they have in public forsaken, is not less important in Russia (where in the last few years it is calculated 3,000 have been baptized) than it was in bygone ages in the Spanish peninsula. From the highest to the lowest ranks of society, that is to say, from the smallest retail dealer in Poland to the general officer at Pittsburgh, there is said to exist a line of Israelites in communication with each other, through whose hands pass the chief affairs of

the home department, as well as the most important foreign negotiations. The celebrated Russian minister of finance, Cancrin, is said to have been, at least by birth, a Livonian Israelite.

Sclavonic populations in general continue to evince but small favour to the Jews. The lower we descend in Bohemian and Polish society, the more deeply rooted are the prejudices against them. During the recent movements of the year 1848, to which, in Bohemia in particular, Jews of the modern school have lent their aid, they have nevertheless as a people had much to suffer from the democratic party. The good-will of the Magyars towards them and their political emancipation contrasts remarkably with the dislike evinced for them by the Sclavonic races, who form a considerable part of the Hungarian population. Hungary in general has been, almost from time immemorial, a very remarkable country for the dispersed children of Israel. They were considered an ancient people in this remote country even in the eleventh century; their collective numbers in the synagogues of Pesth, Presburg, Grosswardein, Arad, and elsewhere, were calculated to amount to about 270,000 souls. The Hungarian Jews, largely

participating in the miseries and oppressions of their German and Sclavonic brethren, often found magnanimous protectors among the Magyar magnates, such as the Counts Palfy, Bathjany, Erdödy, Nadasdy, and Feleky. In reply to the addresses and propositions touching the social condition of the Jews, all the magnates who sat in the diet of 1839-40 declared themselves, with more or less restriction, and some without any reserve whatever, in favour of the political emancipation of the Jews.

In Mahomedan countries, Asiatic and African, the relation between the Israelites on the one hand and the governments and people on the other, has progressed in exact proportion to the influence that Christianity and the growth of civilization have exercised on those countries. Still great, however, is the contempt in which Jews and Christians, and more particularly the former, are held by Mahomedan populations. But on the part of the governments of the viceroy of Egypt and of the Sultan of Constantinople, a gradually increasing favour has been exhibited to the Israelites. At one time only, in 1840, an accusation, which had long been unheard, was on the point of causing, in the East, a general

persecution of the Jews wherever such an accusation could find an echo. It will be recollected that, according to the terrible calumny of the Middle Ages in Europe, the Israelites chose to celebrate the Passover with human blood, and for this purpose sought to carry off and sacrifice children, and even adults. At the time that we have particularized, a like accusation was levelled against the Jewish population in Syria, which at that period was under the rule of Mehemet Ali. A certain monk, named Father Thomas, who for thirty years had practised medicine at Damascus, had suddenly disappeared, and it was soon suspected that he had been assassinated. The French Consul, Count Menton, as one who considered it his peculiar business to watch over the interests of the Christians in Syria, made various researches into the matter, which, however, proved abortive. Gradually the report spread that the monk had been last seen in the Jewish quarter; they imagined they had discovered a clue to the crime. A Jewish barber was imprisoned, closely questioned, and put to the torture. At last they extracted from him a confession to the effect that some of his brethren had tempted him, but vainly, by the offer of a sum of money, to assassinate Father

Thomas. This denunciation, supported by no proof, and evidently absurd, was, as part of a chain of circumstances, considered important enough to authorize the arrest of all the Israelites whom the barber had named. These were chiefly members of the Spanish synagogue, some of distinguished families, amongst whom were the Peixotos, the respected consuls of several of the European powers. The aged and the weak sank under the horrible torments which were inflicted on the accused. Others allowed a false confession to be drawn from them. Some in despair embraced Islamism, the rest persisted with constancy in their denial of guilt. The populace, in the meantime, began to pillage the synagogues, and to torture the unhappy Jews as they liked, abetted by the police. This excitement of accusation and persecution spread from Damascus to other places, amongst these to Rhodes, and even in some parts of Poland similar disorders were apprehended.

Meanwhile, there arose from the synagogues of all parts protestations against the equally monstrous and cruel accusation which dared to impute to the Jews human sacrifices in their rites and mysteries. The European

powers interested themselves earnestly in their behalf,—France excepted, whose Government preferred upholding the inexcusable conduct of its consul. England, on the contrary, distinguished itself for its zeal in calling for and accelerating a dispassionate examination of facts, in order to make palpable the indubitable innocence of the ill-treated Israelites. The interest and co-operation of all the different religious and political parties in Great Britain was general, when, on the 15th June, in the London synagogue, a large meeting of the Jews was convoked, to take efficacious measures in behalf of their brethren against the horrible oppression from which they were suffering. Yet more remarkable was the unanimity on this occasion of the Emperor of Russia and the Government of the United States of America, who, in concert with England, expressed a determination that, once and for all, an end should be put to such abuses and such horrors. The meeting in London in the meantime had decisive results. Sir Moses Montefiore went in person with his wife to Syria, accompanied by some learned men, chiefly of the Jewish persuasion. He passed through France on his way, where he was joined by the celebrated advocate, Crémieux,

who attended the expedition in the capacity of envoy from the French Jews. Sir Moses Montefiore, encouraged by the importance of his mission, and upheld by the English Embassy and Consuls at Alexandria, soon obtained an audience, which Crémieux only effected much later, in consequence of the indifference of the French Consul.

The success of the deputation was complete. Supported by the representatives of all the European powers, always excepting France, a firman was obtained from the aged Pasha, ordering the release of nine Jews, who were imprisoned at Damascus. Crémieux having observed the word "pardon" had been made use of in the deed, and fearing that, if allowed to pass, the real question of their guilt might be considered undecided, persevered in his efforts until he had gotten it altered. Soon afterwards, on the 16th of September, 1840, the enlarged Jews were conducted in a procession, in which even some of the Moslems joined, to the synagogue, wishing first to give thanks to the Almighty before they returned home to their families. Crémieux and Montefiore, who in all else held entirely different views,—the latter being a strict Talmudist, and the former a liberal in religion and politics,—

after their successful expedition, returned to their respective countries. Before his departure, Crémieux endeavoured to obtain from the viceroy of Egypt the complete abolition of the use of judicial torture. He also took advantage of his sojourn in Cairo and Alexandria to effect some reformations in the educational department and in the management of the hospitals for the sick. Montefiore passed through Constantinople on his return, where he procured from the Sultan, Abdul Meshid, a firman, dated the 12th Ramazan, 1256, (or 6th of November, 1840,) confirming the justification of the Jews at Damascus, and providing for their safety in all parts of the Ottoman territory, particularly at Rhodes. Returning to England *via* Rome and Paris, Montefiore was, on this occasion, presented to Louis Philippe; and, soon after he landed in England, he received from Jews and Christians of all classes demonstrations of the esteem in which they held him. The minutest particulars relative to the dreadful imputation of the celebration of the Jewish passover with human blood were afterwards fully explored by Israelitish and Christian writers, and thus exposed to merited obloquy. Nevertheless, a like accusation in the island of Marmora, in

1843, gave rise more lately to renewed manifestations of hatred, ill-treatment, and persecution on the part of some misguided Greeks, to which a new judicial sentence finally put a term in the beginning of the following year.

The land, towards which the hearts of many in Europe and America have turned during the last half-century, if not with stronger, at least with more enlightened aspirations, is situated within the territory which at this present time is under the jurisdiction of the Turkish Sovereign. It is Palestine, the land long promised to the remote posterity of the patriarchs of Israel; it is the city of the great King which sitteth solitary. And now, behold, amongst those whose true patrimony it is, and in that city and that land, singular rumours are gradually gaining ground in the midst of the marvellous political vicissitudes of our age. They tell of the possibility of restoring Palestine to the seven millions* of

* Of these seven, or (according to other less probably correct calculations) five, millions, rather more than a third are to be found in Europe. We have already mentioned the number in Russia, calculated by some to be still higher. In the Austrian states there are said to be 700,000, in Russia 200,000, in France 84,000, in England 30,000, in the Netherlands 50,000,—of whom 30,000 are settled at Amsterdam,—in Turkey 800,000,

the posterity of Abraham, who are scattered throughout the world, either by means of purchase, or by negotiation, when the great problems of European policy shall be solved. They tell of the possibility of the rebuilding of the temple, and restoration of Jerusalem to the Jews.

Such rumours are in themselves vague and ephemeral; and, moreover, it is not the first time that they have been heard in the great epochs in history, which have been followed by events fulfilling striking and ancient predictions. But we have "a more sure word of prophecy," where, many times repeated, we find the reply to this question:—What destiny is reserved in futurity for the scattered seed of Israel, preserved from destruction during so many ages? Will Israel be kept from age to age, to the end of days, in a more or less modified, but always isolated and grievous position among the nations? Or will it, as the consequence of the civilization and progressive revolutions of a small but important section of mankind, eventually lose its nationality, and

in Arabia 200,000, in Africa 600,000, in the United States 50,000, in Persia, China, and India 600,000,—exclusive, according to general opinion, of the ten tribes.

become absorbed among the various races of the five great divisions of the earth ? The probability or the improbability of these events might afford a curious theme for speculation, had not the question been already decided with equal clearness and certainty for Jew and Christian,—at least, for such as believe in the prophetic word of the God who cannot lie. We have repeated in these pages more than once, that Israel is the only nation whose history, not only of the past and present, but also of the future, has been positively and circumstantially written. This history of the future will be the final solution and the crown of all the prophecies, accomplished and still unaccomplished, of the Old and New Testament. From Moses to Malachi all the prophets, from the beginning to the end, have been unanimous in foretelling the great miseries and the terrible judgments that the Israelites should suffer during their long dispersion, by reason of their manifold sins ; and, above all, that one sin,—the rejection of God in Christ. Unanimous, also, were they in terminating their predictions and descriptions with that of the conversion of the children of Israel to the Lord their God, their national restoration under the sceptre of the Messiah their King,

their happiness and their splendour among, and for the benefit of, all the nations upon the earth, renewed and henceforth to be covered with the knowledge of the Lord.

The same Moses who painted in such terrible colours their general dispersion, their boundless and unexampled misery, foretels, in indissoluble connexion with these judgments, the mercy and final restoration in store for them in the end. After having, as we may say, poured out the cup of wrath and denunciation on rebellious Israel in the prophecies of the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth chapters of Deuteronomy, to the complete fulfilment of which we have drawn attention in the course of this history, he continues immediately, as if in the same breath: "And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee, and shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul; that then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee

from all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee. If any of thine be driven out unto the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee: and the Lord thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it, and he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers. And the Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live. And the Lord thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee. And thou shalt return, and obey the voice of the Lord, and do all his commandments which I command thee this day. And the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy land, for good: for the Lord will again rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers: if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in this book of the law, and if thou turn unto the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul." (Deut. xxx. 1—10.)

And in this again the prophets harmonize with Moses. In them, also, immediately following and inseparably connected with the terrible judgments whose divine truth has been attested by the history of more than eighteen centuries, all the oracles of the Old Testament conclude with promises and descriptions of the felicity of the whole earth which shall then be, of the re-adoption and re-establishment of Israel, whose greatness and glory is to exceed that of the past. "For the children of Israel," says the Prophet Hosea, (iii. 4, 5,) shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim: afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." And again, Zechariah says, (xii. 10,) "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications; and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born." And again, chap. xiii. 1:—"In that time shall be a fountain opened

to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness ; " in that day when, under the reign of Him who " shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse," "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," and "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea ;" in that day it shall come to pass that the Lord " shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth ;" and " there shall be an highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria ; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt. And in that day thou shalt say, O Lord, I will praise thee : though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me. Behold, God is my salvation ; I will trust, and not be afraid : for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song : he also is become my salvation." (Isaiah xi. 16, and xii. 1, 2.) All the twelve tribes are to have part in this glory, for " Thus saith the Lord God ; Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even

with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand. And the sticks whereon thou writest shall be in thine hand before their eyes. And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God ; Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land : and I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel ; and one king shall be king to them all : and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all : neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, nor with their detestable things, nor with any of their transgressions : but I will save them out of all their dwelling-places, wherein they have sinned, and will cleanse them : so shall they be my people, and I will be their God. And David my servant shall be king over them ; and they all shall have one shepherd : they shall also walk in my judgments, and observe my statutes, and do them. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt ; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children for ever : and my servant David shall

be their prince for ever. Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them ; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them : and I will place them, and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My tabernacle also shall be with them : yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And the heathen shall know that I the Lord do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore." (Ezek. xxxvii. 19—28.) Thus shall be also gloriously accomplished another prophecy :—"He will turn again, he will have compassion on us ; he will subdue our iniquities, and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea. Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old." These are a few striking passages chosen from those in which the Old Testament abounds, relating to the future, for which Israel still waits, and which shall complete and carry out the great theme which pervades the word of prophecy from beginning to end. Who shall dare to say, that these things have been already fulfilled, not, it is true, literally to the actual descendants of Israel, but in a (so-called)

spiritual sense, to the Christian Church, inasmuch as she has taken Israel's place under the covenant of the New Testament? As if the Lord himself had not maintained and sealed the application of all his promises to Israel as a people, to the descendants of Abraham according to the flesh, even at the very moment when he was taken up to heaven from the midst of his apostles. To their question, (Acts i. 6,) "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" His reply is by no means negative as to the fact of restoration, but by the very delay it indicates is rather affirmative for the future: "It is not for you to know the times and seasons which the Father has put in his own power." (Ver. 7.) Already he had promised to his twelve apostles to sit upon the twelve thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel in the time of the regeneration. (Matt. xix. 28.) Who shall separate what God hath joined? In Holy Writ, in the Old Testament, the same prophetic Word tells of the miseries and of the glories of the same Israel! Who has given us the right, while contemplating the actual, literal, and complete fulfilment of the prophetic judgments on the Hebrews, to alter suddenly the principle of interpretation, where the curse is changed into

a promise, humiliation into glory, the anathema into a blessing? Who gives us the right by an arbitrary exegesis to apply the promises to the Christian Church of the Gentiles, when the judgments evidently could not have been intended for them?

And all this becomes still more manifest, when we consider this promise of a national conversion of the Jews and the restoration of the kingdom of Israel, in connexion with the promise of the Great King, the Messiah Himself, during so many ages before, as well as after His coming in the flesh, the object of the expectation of all who in Israel believed in the Divine authority of prophecy. A King reigning in glory and power over the house of Jacob from century to century! This was the promise transmitted from age to age, from prophet to prophet in Israel. This was the expectation of the Hebrews, misconceived by them, because they comprehended not the sufferings by which this King ought to enter into His glory. Now, then, the King has come, He has obtained their deliverance by His sufferings. Is the glory, therefore, less surely promised, less certain to follow? By faith in a crucified King, the expectation of the glorified King becomes legitimate and acceptable

in the sight of God. Jesus is this King, not only spiritually reigning over hearts and minds, not only in Heaven, and over His invisible Church, but also some day upon the earth, over his own people and country, and thence over all nations, "from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth." The kingdom that the Angel Gabriel announced to Mary for the Son of the Most High, who should derive his human nature from her, (Luke i. 32, 33,) is absolutely the same which the Prophet Isaiah promises to the family of David, and to the house of Jacob. This was the kingdom anciently sung by psalmists and prophets, looked for by all the faithful in the days of old, sketched and prefigured in the ordering of the tabernacle and the temple, in the institution of priest and king, — a kingdom descending from heaven upon earth, but not less real, visible, and palpable, than those four monarchies seen by Daniel in the visions of the night, to which the Jewish monarchy, under Jesus Christ, born and crucified King of the Jews, comes to put an end. The New Testament, which never annihilates, but always fulfils the promises of the Old, has certainly not changed the nature of this last kingdom.

It is still "the kingdom of our Father David," (Mark xi. 10.) It is with respect to this kingdom that the apostle of the Gentiles, in his last Epistle, and in his last hour, exclaimed once more, "Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my Gospel;" and when Saint John contemplates, in the heavens which were opened unto him, this King as the Lamb that was slain, he announces him as "the Lion of Judah, who has prevailed." (Rev. v. 5.) And Jesus Himself, at the end of this same opened book of prophecy, calls Himself "the root and the offspring of David," and "the bright and morning star." (Rev. xxii. 16.) There is then a future for Israel!—for the long-disgraced outcasts an approaching glory!—and this future, and this glory, are intimately connected with the happiness and the salvation of all nations: the reign of the Messiah will not be an exclusive one, He will not revenge Himself on the Gentiles as Gentiles, as carnal Israel, denying the cross of Christ, has imagined. As little will it be a reign over a purely typical Israel. But the wall of separation will be thrown down, and Israel and the regenerate nations will triumph together over the Gentiles who

have forgotten God, and who oppose the kingdom of Christ. Israel's King will be King of all nations. The receiving of Israel shall be to all people "life from the dead;" (Rom. xi. 15;) and thus "the Lord shall be King over all the earth: for in that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one." (Zech. xiv. 9.)

